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ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TRANSACTIONS FOR THE YEAR 1936

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING,
PAPERS PRESENTED AT THAT TIME, AND
CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE HISTORY

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY
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OFFICERS

of the

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

May, 1935–May, 1936

President

*Otto L. Schmidt.....Chicago
James A. James.....Evanston

Vice-Presidents

Theodore C. Pease.....Urbana
Evarts Boutell Greene.....New York City
John McAuley Palmer.....Washington, D. C.
John H. Hauberg.....Rock Island
George W. Smith.....Carbondale

Board of Directors

James A. James.....Evanston
Laurence M. Larson.....Urbana
Theodore Calvin Pease.....Urbana
Henry J. Patten.....Chicago
Logan Hay.....Springfield
George C. Dixon.....Dixon
Cornelius J. Doyle.....Springfield
Mrs. Henry English.....Jacksonville
Paul M. Angle.....Springfield
Clint Clay Tilton.....Danville
*Paul Steinbrecher.....Chicago
John H. Hauberg.....Rock Island
Wayne C. Townley.....Bloomington
Ernest E. East.....Peoria

* Now deceased.

FOREWORD

This volume is the forty-third of its kind to be issued since the organization of the Illinois State Historical Society. Like those which have preceded it, it contains the official proceedings of the last annual meeting, a report of recent acquisitions in genealogy and local history, the papers read at the annual meeting, and a contribution to state history.

A word about the publication policy of the Society may not be out of place here. Manuscripts dealing with almost any phase of the State's history, letters and documentary material of historical value, bibliographies and reminiscences are solicited. Shorter papers and those of general interest will be printed in the quarterly Journal of the Society; longer contributions and bibliographical material will be used in this volume. The Society reserves the right to determine whether contributions will be printed or not. It also disclaims responsibility for the views and opinions expressed by individual authors.

PAUL M. ANGLE, *Editor.*

PART I

Official Proceedings—Annual Meeting

May 15–16, 1936

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PEORIA, ILLINOIS, MAY 16, 1936

The annual business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held at the Pere Marquette Hotel, Peoria, on May 16, 1936.

A quorum being present, the meeting was called to order by President James A. James.

The Secretary read the minutes of the last meeting, which were approved as read.

Dr. James notified the Society that the terms of five directors —C. J. Doyle, Mrs. Sara John English, James A. James, Laurence M. Larson and Harold Ward—had expired, and asked for nominations. The Secretary presented a telegram from Mr. Ward declining re-election on the ground that he was and would be unable to attend the Society's meetings. Mr. Tilton nominated the following as directors—C. J. Doyle, Mrs. Sara John English, James A. James, Laurence M. Larson, John H. Hauberg. There being no other nominations, Messrs. Doyle, James, Larson, Hauberg and Mrs. English were elected directors for three years by acclamation.

On the motion of Dr. Pease, seconded by Mr. Tilton, Ernest E. East was elected a director for the balance of the unexpired term of Mark D. Batchelder, and Wayne C. Townley was elected a director for the balance of the unexpired term of Lincoln H. Weldon.

On the motion of Dr. Pease, seconded by Mr. Townley, the following resolutions were adopted:

> WHEREAS, The thirty-seventh annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society has been one of the most successful meetings in the Society's history, and
>
> WHEREAS, The success of this meeting has been due in large part to the careful preparations made by the officers and members of the Peoria Historical Society, and to their warm hospitality,

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Historical Society place on record its appreciation of the splendid cooperation of the Peoria Historical Society, and further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary be requested to send a copy of these resolutions to the President of the Peoria Historical Society.

At the suggestion of Dr. James, Dr. Pease outlined plans for future volumes of the Illinois Historical Collections. Dr. Ander of Augustana College described plans for the conference of Illinois college teachers, and expressed the hope that it would result in a closer degree of cooperation between the Society and the colleges of the state in the future.

Mr. Angle brought up for discussion the possibility of publication by the Society of a series of historical booklets to be prepared for the general reader and circulated free of charge. After discussion it was moved, seconded and passed that the President appoint a committee of three who should have power to investigate further and take whatever action should seem to be desirable.

Mr. Angle informed the Society that an invitation to meet next year at Galesburg, which celebrates its centennial and the centennial of Knox College in 1937, had been received. Dr. Ander expressed the opinion that the Mississippi Valley Historical Association would meet in Rock Island in 1938, and hoped that in that event a joint meeting could be arranged. Mr. Townley invited the Society to meet in Bloomington as soon as possible. It was moved, seconded and passed that a committee composed of the President, Secretary and Mr. East be empowered to make definite arrangements for the annual meeting in 1937.

Dr. James asked for the opinion of those present on the desirability of a more elaborate program for the next annual meeting. After discussion, he was empowered to appoint a program committee to plan the program of the next annual meeting.

The Secretary called attention to the fact that the Society's membership had declined during the past year, and asked for suggestions for increasing it. It was the opinion of those present that a letter to all members asking each to secure members from his acquaintances would be of some help, but it was felt that increased public notice of the Society and its work would be of greater effect in increasing membership. The President was requested to appoint a committee of five on publicity and member-

ship to study the situation and take such action as should seem desirable.

On the recommendation of the Board of Directors, Mrs. Otto L. Schmidt was elected an Honorary Member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The Secretary notified the Society of the recent deaths of Richard Yates, a former Governor of Illinois and Vice President of the Society, and Lincoln H. Weldon, a former Director. Whereupon the following resolutions were adopted.

> WHEREAS, The death of Richard Yates, a former Governor of the State of Illinois, has occurred since the last meeting of this Society, and
>
> WHEREAS, Mr. Yates was for many years a Vice-President of this Society, and an active participant, both as a public official and a private citizen, in all movements for the preservation and dissemination of the history of Illinois,
>
> BE IT RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Historical Society take this means of acknowledging the loss it has suffered by his death, and
>
> BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That these resolutions be spread upon the records of the Society, printed in its publication, and transmitted, with the sympathy of this membership, to the surviving members of his family.
>
> WHEREAS, The death of Lincoln H. Weldon has occurred since the last meeting of the Society, and
>
> WHEREAS, Mr. Weldon was for many years a Director of this Society, and an active participant in all movements having to do with the preservation and dissemination of the history of this state,
>
> BE IT RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Historical Society take this means of acknowledging the loss it has suffered by his death, and
>
> BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That these resolutions be spread upon the records of the Society and printed in the published record of this meeting.

The Secretary read a communication from Dr. Clarence E. Carter, Editor, *The Territorial Papers of the United States,* to the effect that if this publication were to be continued a new authorization and appropriation would be necessary, and asking for a formal endorsement of the project if the membership of the Society favored it. The following resolution was adopted, and the

Secretary was requested to send copies to the Secretary of State and to such other officers as might be desirable.

RESOLVED: That the Illinois State Historical Society hereby express its appreciation of the volumes of *Territorial Papers of the United States* now being issued by the Secretary of State, and urges that provision be made for the continuance and completion of the series. The volumes already issued contain much that is pertinent to the history of Illinois, and it is the belief of this Society that forthcoming volumes will be even more valuable.

RESOLVED, That in order that the same contribution may be made for all states formed out of territories, the Illinois State Historical Society respectfully urges that the Congress of the United States be requested to make an additional authorization for the appropriation needed to continue and carry to completion this important and valuable series of Territorial Papers of the United States.

The Secretary also read a communication from the National Historical Publications Commission advising that the Commission proposed to publish as a government publication source material relating to the ratification of the Constitution of the United States and the first ten amendments thereto, and requesting a formal endorsement of the membership if the Society favored the proposal. The following resolution was adopted, and the Secretary was directed to send copies to the appropriate officials.

WHEREAS, The National Historical Publications Commission, in its report of Feb. 21, 1936, has recommended the assembling, editing and issuance as a Government publication of original materials relating to the ratification of the Constitution of the United States and the first ten amendments thereto, and

WHEREAS, A publication such as that recommended by the National Historical Publications Commission would be a contribution both to historical knowledge and public welfare,

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Historical Society place itself on record as favoring such a publication, and as expressing the hope that the Congress of the United States will see fit to make the authorization and appropriations necessary for the accomplishment of this end.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

MEETING OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY PEORIA, MAY 15, 1936

Present: James A. James, Theodore C. Pease, Henry J. Patten, Mrs. Henry English, Paul M. Angle, Clint Clay Tilton, Ernest E. East.

By a unanimous vote the Directors elected the following officers: President, James A. James; Vice Presidents, Theodore C. Pease, Evarts Boutell Greene, John McAuley Palmer, John H. Hauberg, George W. Smith; Secretary-treasurer, Paul M. Angle.

The Secretary-Treasurer presented a report covering the finances of the Society since the last annual meeting. The report was accepted and placed on file.

The Directors voted a subvention in the amount of $50 for the publication, *Writings on American History,* said subvention to be made only in the event that Dr. J. F. Jameson, in charge of the publication, should succeed in securing sufficient amounts from other sources to assure publication.

The Directors appropriated $35 or as much of that amount as might be necessary for a special binding for a set of the *Centennial History of Illinois* to be presented to Mr. Robert Kingery as a mark of appreciation for his appearance on the Society's program.

The Directors adopted a budget for the next fiscal year, and then adjourned.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

To the Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society

GENTLEMEN:

I present herewith a summary of the activities of the Illinois State Historical Society since the last annual meeting, May 9, 1935.

As you know, the Society held its usual Illinois Day meeting in Springfield on December 3, 1935, with James A. James, the newly elected President, presiding. The meeting opened with an appreciation of Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Society from 1914 until his death on August 20, 1935, by Laurence M. Larson. Doctor Larson's talk, together with a biographical sketch by Theodore C. Pease, has since appeared in the Journal for January, 1936, and those of you who were unable to hear it have doubtless read it there. Following Doctor Larson, Percy Holmes Boynton of the University of Chicago spoke on the subject, "The Serious Side of Mark Twain,"—a topic made especially timely by the concurrent celebration of the Mark Twain Centennial. Following the meeting those in attendance were the guests of Governor Horner at a reception at the Governor's Mansion.

In spite of the addition of twenty-five new members during the year, the Society's membership stands today at a very low mark—697. This small figure comes in part from our removal of many delinquent members from our list, but it is principally the result of our failure to make any concerted effort to increase our membership. The advantages of a larger membership in increased vitality and prestige are too obvious to require argument. I recommend earnestly that the Directors give consideration to the problem of increasing the Society's membership and formulate plans to accomplish that end.

A year ago we were fearful that the act of the legislature requiring a charge of $2.50 per volume for the *Illinois Historical Collections,* which had always been distributed free to members of the Society, would have a bad effect upon our membership. I am happy to say that our apprehensions have not been realized. Only one or two resignations were received on this account, and almost no objections have been reported.

During the past year continued progress has been made in the erection of historical markers. A year ago I reported that thirty markers were in place; today the number is forty-nine. That represents a substantial increase, yet the work proceeds with discouraging slowness. Often considerable research is necessary before an accurate and explicit text can be written, and personal inspection of the proposed site is essential. But this takes time, and the pressure of other duties is so constant that frequently weeks, even months, elapse during which the marker program receives no attention. The only way of expediting this work, and of accomplishing other desirable purposes, is through the permanent addition of at least one fully qualified person to our staff. Such an addition seems unlikely in the near future.

Recently, at the Society's suggestion, the Director of the Department of Public Works and Buildings decided to erect informational signs, principally historical in character, on the state highways at the corporate limits of the more important towns and cities of the state. The Society agreed to furnish the texts for these markers. Texts for signs for all cities of 25,000 and larger have been prepared, and it is expected that the first signs will be erected in the next few weeks. As time is available, additional texts will be supplied. The texts are necessarily short, being limited to fifteen words, but even so, it is possible to convey a surprising amount of information about Illinois and its cities in this way.

The provision of texts for corporate limit markers is only one instance of the extent of the Society's cooperation with other branches of the state government in the past year. The Secretary has visited several of the state parks and made many suggestions for the improvement of markers and other public services. The museum at Fort de Chartres is being completely made over in accordance with a plan worked out jointly by the Society and the State Supervising Architect. Names of outstanding Illinoisans for inscription on the new Archives Building have been compiled by the Society. Cordial relations, mutually helpful, exist between the Society and every branch of the state government whose functions touch upon our work. I think it may be said that the Society plays a more important part in state government than it has for many years.

In my report a year ago I stated that a topical outline of Illinois history, with suggested readings, was in preparation. Several months ago that outline was published under the title, *Suggested Readings in Illinois History, with a Selected List of Historical Fiction.* The outline was distributed to all members of the Society, and offered free of charge to any applicant. The response has been most gratifying. A great many individuals have asked for and received copies, and numerous clubs and societies throughout the state have been induced to institute study courses in Illinois history because of its publication. Ultimately we hope to issue a similar reading list of Illinois biography.

The response to the publication of this topical outline induces me to suggest that the Society consider the advisability of preparing and issuing for wide free distribution a series of popular publications relating to Illinois history. Included in such a series should be a short general history of the state, a pamphlet containing biographies of its governors, studies of Lincoln, Douglas, Grant and other notable men of Illinois, and other similar subjects. The daily correspondence of the Secretary proves beyond question the need for publications of this kind. The Society, of course, should give all possible encouragement to the scientific study of the state's past, but it will miss a fine opportunity if it neglects to make an appeal to the general reader also. I recommend this subject for your consideration.

This annual meeting deserves some mention. For the first time in many years, it is held outside of Springfield. At this time, near the end of the meeting, the results can be appraised. I think it is clear that this meeting has brought the Society to the attention of thousands who have not hitherto known much about it, and has interested an entirely new group in its work. I recommend that we continue the practice, thus begun, of meeting in a different city of the state each year.

I regret the necessity which compels me to announce the death of the following members during the past twelve months:

Jane Addams ..... Chicago
Mark D. Batchelder ..... Peoria
James Madison Cleaver ..... Moline
Lee F. English ..... Wilmette
Judge Louis Fitzhenry ..... Bloomington

Otto Heper ..... Elmhurst
Rector C. Hitt ..... Ottawa
J. H. Holbrook ..... Springfield
Edward D. Keys ..... Springfield
Thomas C. MacMillan ..... LaGrange
J. D. Madding ..... Bridgeport
Elmer Marshall ..... Hillsboro
Dr. John B. Matthew ..... Blue Mound
Dr. William S. Orth ..... Chicago
Toby Rubovits ..... Chicago
Dr. Otto L. Schmidt ..... Chicago
Dr. Hugo C. H. Schroeder ..... Granite City
Dr. C. M. Service ..... Springfield
Frederick Trapp ..... Lincoln
Lincoln H. Weldon ..... Bloomington
Henry M. Wolf ..... Chicago
Richard Yates ..... Springfield

Respectfully submitted,
PAUL M. ANGLE.

ACQUISITIONS IN GENEALOGY AND LOCAL HISTORY 1935–1936

The following list of genealogies and local histories recently acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library is printed for the benefit of the many members of the Society who are interested in those subjects.

CANADA

The Encyclopedia of Canada. Vols. 1-2. (Toronto: University Associates of Canada, Limited, 1935.)

Royal Society of Canada, Ottawa. *Transactions. Third Series.* Vols. 18-28. ([Ottawa?: Royal Society of Canada?], 1924-1934.)

CONNECTICUT

Andrews, Charles McLean. *The Rise and Fall of the New Haven Colony.* Tercentenary Publication No. 48. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936.)

Blakely, Quincy. *Farmington, One of the Mother Towns of Connecticut.* Tercentenary Publication No. 38. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935.)

Bowen, Clarence Winthrop. *The History of Woodstock, Connecticut; Genealogies of Woodstock Families.* Vol. 6. (Norwood, Mass.: Plimpton Press, 1935.)

Boyd, Julian Parks. *The Susquehannah Company: Connecticut's Experiment in Expansion.* Tercentenary Publication No. 34. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935.)

Connecticut. Highway Commissioner's Office. *Forty Years of Highway Development in Connecticut, 1895-1935.* Tercentenary Publication No. 46. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935.)

Connecticut. Tercentenary Commission. *The Tercentenary of Connecticut, 1635-1935.* ([New Haven?]: The Tercentenary Commission of the State of Connecticut [1936].)

Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America. Connecticut Chapter. *Family Records (Heretofore Unpublished) Collected in Commemoration of the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of Connecticut.* ([Derby, Conn.]: The Connecticut Chapter of the National Society Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, Inc., c1935.)

Day, Clive. *The Rise of Manufacturing in Connecticut, 1820-1850.* Tercentenary Publication No. 44. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935.)

Hicks, Frederick Charles. *Yale Law School: the Founders and the Founders' Collection.* Tercentenary Publication No. 39. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935.)

Jacobus, Donald Lines, comp. *List of Officials, Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical, of Connecticut Colony, from March 1636 through 11 October 1677, and of New Haven Colony Throughout its Separate Existence, also Soldiers in the Pequot War Who Then or Subsequently Resided Within the Present Bounds of Connecticut.* (New Haven: R. M. Hooker, 1935.)

Morse, Jarvis Means. *Connecticut Newspapers in the Eighteenth Century.* Tercentenary Publication No. 36. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935.)

Munich, Austin Francis. *The Beginnings of Roman Catholicism in Connecticut.* Tercentenary Publication No. 41. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935.)

Olson, Albert Laverne. *Agricultural Economy and the Population in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut.* Tercentenary Publication No. 40. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935.)

Rogers, Ernest Elias, ed. *New London's Participation in Connecticut's Tercentenary, 1935.* (New London, Conn.: The New London County Historical Society, 1935.)

Welch, Archibald Ashley. *A History of Insurance in Connecticut.* Tercentenary Publication No. 43. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935.)

Welles, Lemuel Aiken. *The Regicides in Connecticut.* Tercentenary Publication No. 35. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935.)

ILLINOIS

Ackerman, William K. *Historical Sketch of the Illinois-Central Railroad, Together with a Brief Biographical Record of its Incorporators and Some of its Early Officers.* (Chicago: Fergus Printing Company, 1890.)

Angle, Paul McClelland. *"Here I Have Lived": a History of Lincoln's Springfield, 1821-1865.* (Springfield, Ill., The Abraham Lincoln Association, 1935.)

Atlas of Bureau Co. and the State of Illinois. (Chicago: Warner & Beers, 1875.)

Atlas of the State of Illinois. (Chicago: Warner, Higgins & Beers, 1872.)

Bailey, John C. W., comp. *Bureau County Directory for 1858 & 1859.* (Chicago: William H. Rand, Printer, [1858?].)

Becker, L. K. *A History of Elgin Academy of Northwestern University.* ([Elgin, Ill.]: Published by the Academy, 1906.)

Bender, Mrs. Lucy (Rearden), comp. *Early Settlers of Gallatin County, Illinois. Delinquent Tax Lists, 1817-1828.* (Early Settlers Records, Gallatin County, Illinois, Vol. 4.) (1936.) Typewritten MS.

Bender, Mrs. Lucy (Rearden), comp. *Marriage Licenses Issued in Gallatin County, Illinois, from 1813 through 1838.* (Early Settlers records, Gallatin County, Illinois, Vol. 1.) (1935?) Typewritten MS.

Blanchard, Rufus. *Discovery and conquests of the Northwest, with the History of Chicago.* 2 Vols. (Chicago: R. Blanchard and Company, 1898-1900.)

Bloomington-Normal City Directory for 1895. ([Bloomington]: Pantagraph Printing and Stationery Co., [1895?])

Bloomington and Normal City Directory, October 1, 1907. (Bloomington, Ill.; Pantagraph Printing and Stationery Co. [1907?])

Bloomington and Normal City Directory, 1923. (Peoria, Ill.: Leshnick Directory Co., c1923.)

Burnham, John Howard, ed. *Bloomington, McLean County, Illinois: its Situation, its Industries, its Advantages.* Published by the Bloomington Club. (Moline, Ill.: Printed by Porter Printing Company, 1890.)

Burnham, John Howard, comp. *McLean County's Memorial to Hon. John McLean. December 6, 1898.* Taken from Volume 2 of McLean County Historical Society Transactions. ([Bloomington, Ill.?] n.d.)

Burnham, John Howard. *Some of the Influences which Led to the Founding of the Normal University; a Paper by J. H. Burnham, Class of 1861. Delivered at the Founders Day Banquet, Feb. 18, 1909.* ([Bloomington, Ill.? 1909.)

Carlock, Mrs. Mabel R., comp. *Marriage Records, 1833-1861, Champaign County, Illinois.* ([Urbana, Ill.?] 1935.) Typewritten MS.

Carpenter, George W. *History of Calhoun County.* (Jerseyville, Ill.: Democrat Print, c1934.)

Chicago City Directories. Various Compilers and Imprints. 1852/53; 1858; 1860/61; 1863/64; 1864/5; 1866/67; 1870; 1871; 1872; 1873; 1874/5; 1875/6; 1876/7; 1877/8; 1878/9; 1879; 1880; 1881; 1882; 1883; 1884; 1885; 1886; 1887; 1891; 1902.

City of Hoopeston, State of Illinois. (Hoopeston, Ill.: Hoopeston News, n. d.)

Converse, Henry A. *Address Delivered . . . before the Members of the Central Baptist Church of Springfield, Illinois, at their Centennial Banquet Nov. 12, 1930.* (1930?)

Crawford, James P. & Co., comp. *Illinois Central Directory . . . Historical Sketches of the Various Towns Located on the Lines of the Illinois Central Railroad.* ([Pittsburgh, Pa.?]: Jas. P. Crawford & Co., 1869.)

The Daughters of Colonial Wars. *Year Book, Society of The Daughters of Colonial Wars in the State of Illinois. 1930-1933. 1933-1936.* Publication No. 1. (Sterling, Ill.: G. E. Bishop Printing Co., 1936?)

Daughters of the American Revolution. Illinois Chapter. *Thirty-ninth Annual State Conference of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Illinois, March Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth, 1935 . . . Springfield, Illinois.* No imprint.

Deerfield, Illinois. Centennial Committee. *1835-1935 Deerfield Centennial, June 28th-29th-30th. Pageant, Early Days of Deerfield.* No imprint.

Droba, Daniel D., ed. *Czech and Slovak Leaders in Metropolitan Chicago.* (Chicago: Slavonic Club of the University of Chicago, 1934.)

Edwards, Richard, comp. *Chicago Census Report and Statistical Review, Embracing a Complete Directory of the city. Compiled from Actual Canvas.* (Chicago: Richard Edwards, c1871.)

Edwards & Co. *Edwards' Annual Director . . . City of Cairo, for 1868.* ([Cairo, Ill.?] Edwards & Co. [1868?])

Elliott, E. S. *Byron; Three Quarters of a Century.* ([Byron, Ill.?] 1899.)

English, Mrs. Sara John, comp. *Roll of Honor. Veterans of the War of 1812 Buried in the State of Illinois.* Vol. 1. No imprint. Typewritten MS.

Everts, Baskin and Stewart, comp. *Combination Atlas Map of Lee County, Illinois.* (Chicago: Everts, Baskin & Stewart, 1872.)

Fox River Baptist Association. *Proceedings, 15th Annual Meeting at Naperville; 16th, Batavia.* Two Vols. in One. (Chicago: Jas. L. Langdon, 1850-1851.)

Freemasons. Illinois. *Fifty Years of Cryptic Masonry in Illinois.* (Chicago: Published by the Grand Council, 1902.)

Freemasons. Knights Templars. Illinois. *History of the Grand Commandery of Knights Templar of the State of Illinois, from October 27, A. D. 1857 to October 25, A. D. 1881.* [Vol. 1] ([Chicago ? Published by Order of the Grand Commandery, 1885.)

Hall, Francis Joseph. *A History of the Diocese of Chicago, Including a History of the Undivided Diocese of Illinois from its Organization in 1835 A. D.* (Dixon, Ill.: De Witt C. Owen, n. d.)

Haughton, Edward, comp. *The Parish of Saint Paul's Church, Springfield, Illinois. One Hundred Years, 1835-1935.* (Springfield, Ill.: Hartman-Jefferson Printing Co. [1935])

Helmershausen, Adella, comp. *Pages from the Past. Souvenir of the Centennial of Franklin Grove, Lee County, Illinois, 1835-1935.* No imprint.

Holland's Ottawa City Directory for 1869-70. (Chicago: Western Publishing Co., [1869])

Hollman, Frank & Hollman, John, comp. *Current & Historical Atlas, St. Clair County, Illinois.* (Belleville, Ill.: Frank & John Hollman, 1936.)

Howlett, John R., comp. *Manual of the 25th General Assembly of the State of Illinois.* (Chicago: Chicago Printing Co., 1867.)

Hrale, James L. *An Historical Map of the Town Now Called Deerfield, Illinois, as it Appeared in the Year 1845, Ten Years after the Arrival of the First Settler.* (Deerfield, Ill.? 1935.)

Illinois. Adjutant-General's Office. *Roll of Honor. Record of Burial Places of Soldiers, Sailors, Marines and Army Nurses of all Wars of the United States Buried in the State of Illinois.* 2 Vols. (Springfield, Ill.: 1929.)

Illinois State Historical Library. *Collections . . .* Vol. 23. French Series, Vol. 1. *The French Foundations, 1680-1693,* Edited . . . by Theodore Calvin Pease and Raymond C. Werner. (Springfield, Ill.: The Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, c1934.)

Lincoln City Directory for 1871-1872. Comp. by J. F. Hyde. (Milwaukee, Wis.: Milwaukee News Co., Printers, 1872.)

Lincoln City Directory for 1875-6. Comp. by J. F. Hyde. (Lincoln, Ill., Smith & Mills, 1876.)

Shaffer's Lincoln City Directory; Shaffer's Logan County Directory, 1900. (Lincoln, Ill.: Times Electric Printing House, 1900)

Leshnick's Lincoln City Directory, 1924. [Comp. by] Leshnick Directory Co. (Peoria, Ill.: Leshnick Directory Co., 1924?)

Marker, Charles A. *A History of Heyworth [McLean County, Illinios]* (Heyworth, Ill.: Heyworth Star, print., [1926])

Ogle, George A., & Co., comp. *Plat Book of Bureau County, Illinois.* (Chicago: Geo. A. Ogle & Co., 1892.)

Ogle, George A., & Co., comp. *Plat Book of Champaign County, Illinois.* (Chicago: Geo. A. Ogle & Co., 1893.)

Peru, Ill. Historical Committee. *Peru, Illinois, Centennial May 25, 26, 1935 . . . Commemorating One Hundred Years of Peru's Existence.* No imprint.

[Phillips, David Lyman] *Biographies of the State Officers and Thirty-third General Assembly of Illinois.* (Springfield, Ill.: The Biographical Publishing Company, 1883.)

Portrait and Biographical Record of Christian County, Illinois. (Chicago: Lake City Publishing Co., 1893.)

Prairie Farmer's Directory of Marshall, Putnam and Stark Counties, Ill. (Chicago: Prairie Farmer Publishing Co., c1917.)

Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. Illinois. Diocese of Quincy. *Constitutions and Canons of the Diocese of Quincy.* No imprint.

Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. Illinois. *Journal of the First, Second, and Third Meetings of the Federate Council of the Province of Illinois, Held in Chicago, Springfield and Quincy, 1880-81.* (Chicago: The Living Church Press, 1882.)

Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. Illinois. Diocese of Quincy. *Journals of the First Three Conventions . . . Primary Convention, Dec. 11, 1877. Special Convention, Feb. 26, 1878. First Annual Convention, May 28, 1878.* (Galesburg, Ill.: Galesburg Printing Co., 1878.)

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PART II

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting

1936

THE BEGINNING OF A STATE PARK SYSTEM FOR ILLINOIS

By James Alton James

Starved Rock: Its Historical Background

During the summer of 1673 Louis Jolliet, an experienced explorer, and Father Jacques Marquette, chaplain of the expedition, together with five other men, set out in two birch bark canoes from St. Ignace, under commission from Frontenac, French governor of Canada, to discover and explore the Mississippi. Four years earlier Father Marquette had met some Illinois Indians at a mission at the west end of Lake Superior. They had gone there to trade and invited the priest to come to their villages. The message from Frontenac, therefore, was received with pleasure by Marquette, for it promised him the opportunity to carry out his wish to go among the Illinois Indians.

Advancing by the way of the Fox and the Wisconsin rivers, they reached the Mississippi on June 17, 1673, the first Frenchmen to behold that river. Having gone as far as the mouth of the Arkansas, they turned and, following the advice of some Indians that the route would bring them most quickly to the Lac des Illinois (Lake Michigan), began the ascent of the Illinois River.

In the plain directly across and below the Rock of St. Louis, now Starved Rock, they came to Kaskaskia, then an Illinois Indian town of seventy-four cabins. Two years later Marquette returned to these Indians and established a mission, the first within the area of our state. He remained only a short time, and on account of continued illness, was forced to leave, his death occurring while on his way to St. Ignace.

In 1682, Robert Cavelier, sieur de LaSalle, accompanied by Henri de Tonty and over one hundred French and Indians, returned from a triumphal journey, in which they had descended the Illinois to the mouth of the Mississippi, and had taken possession of the valley in the name of the king of France. During the autumn of that year they came from Mackinac to this spot on the Illinois, where work was begun on a palisaded fort, at the

top of the rock, called Fort St. Louis. Two years before, LaSalle had visited the Illinois town, then deserted, and had ordered Tonty to examine the rock and make it his stronghold in case of necessity. This constituted an ideal site for defense, for it was approachable from only one side and might easily be made an impregnable fortress for a few men against hundreds. According to the plan of LaSalle, this was to be the beginning of what promised to be the first permanent colony in Illinois. He hoped to make it the chief center for the western fur trade. It was his design also to take control of the mouth of the Mississippi by building another fort, and thus secure an outlet for the trade of the Illinois colony, as well as that of the entire valley. His imagination built up an empire in the valley which would lead to the dominance of French power in the New World, and he began to make grants of land to his followers according to the feudal law of the time.

During the winter, negotiations were carried on with the Indians gathered in the valley and nearby canyons. There were in the vicinity Shawnee, Miami and numerous other tribes besides the Illinois. The scene presented to LaSalle from this watch tower found a worthy word painter in Francis Parkman, who wrote: "The broad, flat valley of the Illinois was spread beneath him like a map, bounded in the distance by its low wall of woody hills. The river wound at his feet in devious channels among islands bordered with lofty trees; then far out on the left, flowed calmly westward through the vast meadows, till its glittering blue ribbon was lost in hazy distance. LaSalle looked down from his rock on a concourse of wild human life. Lodges of bark and rushes, or cabins of logs, were clustered on the open plain or along the edges of the bordering forests. Squaws labored, warriors lounged in the sun, children whooped and gambolled on the grass. Beyond the river, a mile and a half on the left, the banks were studded once more with the lodges of the Illinois."

LaSalle was able to make his own terms, for these Indians had already struggled unsuccessfully against the Iroquois, terrible enemy of the western tribes. They looked upon the French as allies who would be able to foil an attack by the warriors of that powerful confederacy, which, at the time, seemed imminent. The Iroquois failed to appear and the summer passed peacefully away.

But to LaSalle they were months of gloom, for his staunch friend and supporter, Count Frontenac, had been recalled. In his stead reigned La Barre as governor of the French possessions in America. His jealous disposition soon led him to accuse LaSalle of attempting to build up a kingdom in the heart of the New World. His enmity extended so far that he learned with satisfaction of the advance of the Iroquois, and signified to their representative his desire to have LaSalle put to death. By his orders supplies were cut off from the little company of Frenchmen at Fort St. Louis; LaSalle's property in upper Canada was seized; and his influence with the king was assailed. Determined to regain his position, LaSalle set out for Quebec, meeting on the way thither a representative of the governor, who was sent to take possession of the new fort.

LaSalle soon sailed for France, where he gained permission to appear in the presence of the great monarch, Louis XIV, and made his plea. His plan to build a fort on the Gulf of Mexico, which would be a menace to the Spanish possessions, and another fort sixty leagues above the mouth of the River Colbert, or Mississippi, which would constitute a stronghold against the advance of the English, met with instant favor. An officer was dispatched to LaBarre with the royal command that he should restore all of LaSalle's possessions.

LaSalle himself was appointed leader of the expedition to be sent to the Gulf of Mexico. He finally succeeded, after overcoming many difficulties, in setting out with four hundred men on board four vessels. Failure seemed to shadow the expedition from the start, for scarcely had they sailed from Rochelle (July 24, 1684) when trouble arose between LaSalle and Captain Beaujeu, who had charge of the chief vessel. One ship was captured by the Spaniards, and in January, 1685, another went aground on the coast of Texas and was lost.

LaSalle and his followers went ashore and built a fort (Fort St. Louis). Beaujeu soon deserted in one of the remaining vessels, and the other was wrecked. Thus the little colony, with all means of return to France cut off, and surrounded by hostile Indians, was in a desperate condition. All attempts to find the mouth of the Mississippi failing, LaSalle, with seventeen half-starved men, set out on horseback with the hope of reaching Can-

ada, and thus securing succor for the garrison of twenty men left in the fort. Reaching the bank of the Trinity River, LaSalle was killed by one of his followers.

In the meantime an attempt was made by the Iroquois in March, 1683, to capture Fort St. Louis of the Illinois, but after an unsuccessful siege of six days they withdrew. In 1684 Tonty was placed in full command of the fort. During the month of September, three years later, a party of seven Frenchmen, La Salle's companions from the gulf colony, saw, with great relief after their toilsome journey, the cliff surmounted by the fort rising before them. The garrison received them with a salute of musketry.

Ascending the circuitous path, they found on reaching the top that it was encircled for defense by a palisade and by a number of dwellings, a storehouse and a chapel. A number of Indian lodges were within this area. In the spring they set out for Canada without giving any information to Tonty and his associates of the death of LaSalle. An account of the journey was given by Joutel, one of the company, who has also given a faithful description of the fort and surroundings when they visited it.

"Fort Louis," he writes, "is in the country of the Illinois, and seated on a steep rock, about two hundred feet high, the river running at the bottom of it. It is only fortified with stakes and palisades and some houses advancing to the edge of the rock. It has a very spacious esplanade, or place of arms. The place is naturally strong, and might be made so by art, with little expense. Several of the natives live in it, in their huts. I cannot give an account of the latitude it stands in, for want of proper instruments to take an observation, but nothing can be pleasanter; and it may be truly affirmed that the country of the Illinois enjoys all that can make it accomplished, not only as to ornament, but also for its plentiful production of all things requisite for the support of human life.

"The plain, which is watered by the river, is beautified by two small hills, about half a league distant from the fort, and those hills are covered with groves of oaks, walnut trees and other sorts I have named elsewhere. The fields are full of grass, growing up very high. On the sides of the hills is found a gravelly sort of stone, very fit to make lime for building. There are also

many clay-pits fit for making of earthenware, bricks and tiles; and along the river there are coal-pits, the coal whereof has been tried and found very good."

He describes the temperate climate, which was suitable, he thought, for the growing of Indian corn, and the production of wild grapes and wild-apple and pear trees in great quantities. He found the Illinois Indians naturally fierce, revengeful and untrustworthy. The men were occupied in going to war and in hunting, while all labor was performed by the squaws.

During September, 1688, Tonty learned from some Arkansas Indians of the death of his friend and leader, and determined to go to the rescue of the forsaken colony on the coast of Texas. It was his aim also to advance with a war party to the Rio Grande and secure that territory, since war had again been declared between France and Spain. With four other Frenchmen and three Indians, they left the fort in October in a pirogue. Before reaching the Red River, early in April, he had been deserted by all save two of his companions. They still pushed on for a time, but were compelled to retrace their steps. It was a toilsome journey during the hot July and August days. Because of the inundated plains, due to the heavy rains, they were forced to abandon the horses, which they had gotten from the Indians. "We crossed," said Tonty, "fifty leagues of flooded country. The water, where it was least deep, reached half-way up the legs; and in all this tract we found only one little island of dry land. We were obliged to sleep on the trunks of two great trees placed together, and to make our fire on the trees, to eat our dogs, and to carry our baggage across large tracts covered with reeds. In short, I never suffered so much in my life as in this journey to the Mississippi, which we reached on the 11th of July." In September they arrived at Fort St. Louis.

For twelve years Tonty remained at this post carrying on a trade in furs. All outposts on the great lakes and all other advanced posts were ordered abandoned by the King in 1698. Even with this seeming advantage, because of governmental restrictions the trade at Fort St. Louis decreased. Owing to Indian raids, the route by the Fox and Wisconsin rivers gained precedence over that of the Illinois.

A royal order of the year 1702 declared that Fort St. Louis was to be abandoned and that Tonty was to join D'Iberville on the Lower Mississippi. Three years earlier, the Illinois, still fearing the Iroquois, had deserted their village and located at the new Kaskaskia on the Mississippi.

Fort St. Louis was reoccupied by French traders for a brief time, but a traveler visiting the spot in 1721 found only ruins.

But Starved Rock was the scene of numerous conflicts between the tribes during the succeeding half-century. In 1722, we are told, the Peoria, pursued by the Foxes, took refuge on this stronghold. In the siege which followed, the Foxes lost so many of their warriors that they withdrew. None of these encounters is as full of dramatic interest as the one in which tradition has originated the name Starved Rock. The evidence must be regarded as doubtful, but the story may well be retold, for through it the name will survive.

In 1769, the story goes, Pontiac, chief of the Ottawa, while on a visit to Cahokia, was killed by a Kaskaskia Indian. The Ottawa, aided by the Pottawatomi, in their efforts to avenge this loss began a war of extermination against the Illinois. The remnant of this tribe finally sought refuge on the site of Fort St. Louis. Driven to desperation by hunger, they finally strove to cut their way through the ranks of their besiegers. In their enfeebled condition they were an easy prey for the enemy and all save eleven perished. No tribe ever again bore the name Illinois.

FORT DE CHARTRES

During the year 1756, Fort de Chartres, so named in honor of a regent of France, was completed by the French. It was located on the Mississippi River, probably on the site of a French fort built in 1720, three miles west of the village of Prairie du Rocher. Travelers of the time speak of the new fort as the best constructed fortification in America. The masonry was so well done that the original walls are now easily traceable, the chief structures may be located and the powder-magazine shows only slightly the ravages of time. This fort was the center of French influence in Illinois until their possessions were surrendered to the British in 1765. Because of the encroachment of the Mississippi River, the English abandoned this post in 1772 and located at

Fort Gage. This remnant of Fort de Chartres is the oldest structure in Illinois and probably the oldest in the upper Mississippi valley. The following account of the fort was given by Captain Philip Pittman, an English traveler who visited it during the year 1765:

> Fort Chartres when it belonged to France was the seat of government of the Illinois; the headquarters of the English commanding officer is now here, who is, in fact, the arbitrary governor of this country. The fort is an irregular quadrangle, the sides of the exterior polygon are four hundred and ninety feet. It is built of stone and plastered over, and is only designed as a defense against the Indians, the walls being two feet two inches thick, and pierced with loop-holes at regular distances, and with two port-holes for cannon in the faces, and two in the flanks of each bastion; the ditch has never been finished; the entrance to the fort is through a very handsome rustic gate; within the wall is a small banquette raised three feet for the men to stand on when they fire through the loop-holes. The buildings within the fort are the commandant's and commissary's houses, the magazine of stores, corps de garde and two barracks; these occupy the square. Within the gorges [entrances] to the bastions are a powder magazine, a bake house, a prison, in the lower floor of which are four dungeons, and in the upper, two rooms, and an out-house belonging to the commandant. The commandant's house is thirty-two yards long and ten broad; it contains a kitchen, a dining room, a bed-chamber, one small room, five closets for servants and a cellar. The commissary's house (now occupied by officers) is built in the same line as this, its proportions and distribution or apartments are the same. Opposite these are the storehouse and guardhouse, they are each thirty yards long and eight broad; the former consists of two large store rooms (under which is a large vaulted cellar) and a large room, a bed-chamber, and a closet for the store-keeper; the latter, of the soldiers and officers guard-rooms, a chapel, a bed chamber and closet for the chaplain, and an artillery store-room. The lines of barracks have never been finished; they at present consist of two rooms each for officers, and three rooms for soldiers; they are good, spacious rooms of twenty-two feet square and have betwixt them a small passage. There are fine spacious lofts over each building which reach from end to end; these are made use of to lodge regimental stores, working and entrenching tools, etc. It is generally allowed that this is the most commodious and best built fort in North America. The bank of the Mississippi, next the fort is continually falling in, being worn away by the current, which

has been turned from its course by a sand bank now increased to a considerable island covered with willows; many experiments have been made to stop this growing evil but to no purpose. When the fort was begun in the year 1756, it was a good half mile from the water's side; in the year 1766 it was but eighty paces; eight years ago the river was fordable to the island, the channel is now forty feet deep. In the year 1764 there were about forty families in the village near the fort and a parish church served by a Franciscan friar dedicated to St. Anne. In the following year, when the English took possession of the country, they abandoned their houses except three or four poor families, and settled at the villages on the west side of the Mississippi, choosing to continue under the French government.

EARLY STATE PARK LEGISLATION

These historical sketches of Starved Rock and Fort de Chartres serve to indicate the chief reason for the interest which existed on the part of patriotic societies and students of Illinois history in the acquisition of these sites for the state. For many years, the subject of a state park system for Illinois had been discussed and bills had been brought before the legislature asking for appropriations for this purpose. A special commission of five members was finally appointed by Governor Charles S. Deneen for making a survey of places in the state which might be recommended for state parks. After a careful investigation the commission agreed unanimously that Starved Rock, because of its relation to the history of the state, because of its picturesque surroundings and its accessibility, should be given first consideration. It was further recommended that Fort de Chartres, Cahokia Mound and the White Pine Forest should also be acquired at as early a date as possible to constitute necessary links in a proposed state park system.

A bill known as the "Starved Rock State Park Bill" providing for the creation of a park commission of three members and the acquisition of Starved Rock, together with some 1,155 acres adjacent thereto, became a law on June 10, 1911.

The members appointed on this commission were Mr. Alexander Richards of Ottawa, Rev. D. L. Crowe of Kewanee and J. A. James of Evanston. At the first meeting of the commission on

August 12, 1911, Mr. James was chosen chairman and Mr. Richards, secretary of the commission. The legislature appropriated $150,000 for the purchase of Starved Rock and as much more of the reservation as could be secured for that amount. No other funds excepting $1,000 for the personal expenses of the commissioners were appropriated under this bill and the fact that the commission was without funds necessitated the strictest economy and much personal effort on their part in order to operate the park after it had been acquired by the state.

On September 20, 1911, negotiations were begun with Mr. Ferdinand Walthers, owner of the property, for the purchase of Starved Rock and the adjacent 280 acres. The price set on this property by the owner was $150,000. The commission sought expert judgment upon the valuation of these properties from a number of bankers, brokers, and hotel owners in the state. Finally on November 29 the commission agreed to pay Mr. Walthers the sum of $146,000 for his property. Other small parcels of land adjoining were also purchased and on December 20, 1911, these properties were transferred to the people of the State of Illinois.

The commission then began the organization of the property for state park purposes, which included the making of contracts with responsible persons for conducting the hotel, cottages, and lunch rooms, pleasure boats, ferry, automobiles, and souvenirs. Contracts were executed for all of the concession arrangements. The commission reserved the right to supervise the business of each concession, regulate prices and establish rules for the maintenance and operation of the grounds and concessions.

As indicated, the act had provided for the purchase of the property but the commission was without funds with which to operate this park. In order to meet current expenses, therefore, the commission reserved the post-card and souvenir concession and secured a clerk who attended to the sale of souvenirs, furnished guides, and conducted an information bureau for the benefit of the patrons of the park. From the sale of these cards and souvenirs the commission was enabled to maintain the park and meet all obligations without expending any part of the funds received from the several concessions. At the end of the first year the earnings of the park to the amount of $3,017 were turned over to the state treasury. During that year the attendance at

the park increased from 25,000 persons, who had visited it under private ownership, to 75,000.

In addition to the purchase and operation of the Starved Rock Park the commission continued to investigate the availability of Fort de Chartres, Cahokia Mound and the White Pine Forest for state park purposes. This commission was continued during the administration of Governor Dunne.

The state park administration, as such, became a part of the Department of Public Works and Buildings, which was established under Gov. Frank O. Lowden in 1917. It is now our privilege to hear from the present head of that department, Mr. Robert Kingery.

THE STATE PARKS AND ILLINOIS HISTORY

By Robert Kingery

Doctor James, who has presented me, has given so delightful an account of the selection of the earlier state parks because of their historical and scenic value and interest, that my talk will not cover the same ground. He has told you how rich in history is the State of Illinois. He has explained the theory that the state should preserve as much of that history as possible in its parks and memorials. My theme, briefly, will be what has been done during the past few years in expediting Doctor James's plan and I will also outline the problems of administering these properties once they are acquired.

Our present parks may be classified as embodying the several historical periods of Illinois. The prehistoric era is represented by Monks Mound and the Cahokia Mounds and by Giant City State Park, which is the site of a prehistoric stone fort and of unusual geological formations. The Indian era as well as early white settlement are represented by Starved Rock, famous for the Indian starvation legend, and as the site where LaSalle, Tonty and others built on its summit Fort St. Louis; and by Black Hawk State Park, famous as a site of some of Chief Black Hawk's activities. The period of early French exploration and possession is represented not only by Starved Rock, but by Fort Crevecoeur, Fort de Chartres and the Pierre Menard Home. Early American as well as French and English are represented perhaps by the Cahokia Court House, the site for which is now being acquired. The early pioneer period and settlement are represented by New Salem State Park, the site of the restored village of New Salem which was the home of Abraham Lincoln from 1831 to 1837, and by the Thomas Lincoln Log Cabin site and the Moore Home in Coles County.

The special Lincoln period is represented not only by New Salem but also by the State Capitol at Vandalia, the Lincoln Homestead in Springfield, the two court houses, one in Mt. Pulaski, the other in Metamora in which he practiced law; by his tomb in Springfield, by the so-called Lincoln National Memorial

Highway which should really be called the "Abe Lincoln Trail" and by the newly planned monument near Lawrenceville at the Wabash River, the site of the crossing of the Lincoln family from Indiana to Illinois. Then there is the Jubilee College and campus recently presented to the state by a Peoria citizen, Dr. George A. Zeller, as a memorial to the early educational and religious institutions founded by Bishop Philander Chase. There is the Ulysses S. Grant home at Galena and the specially significant repossession and restoration of the old Illinois and Michigan Canal from Chicago to LaSalle.

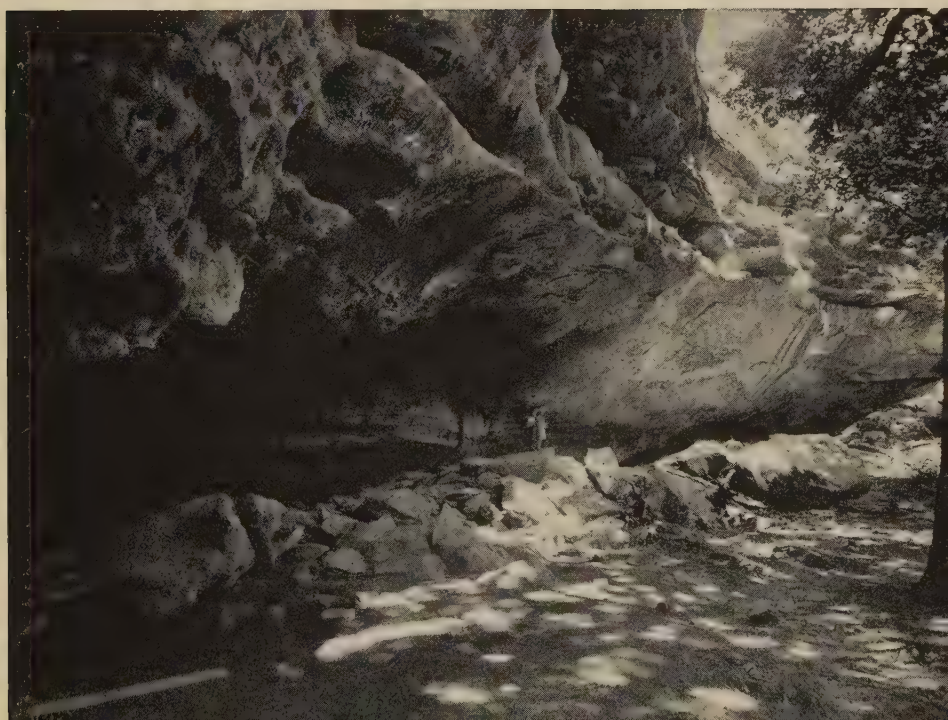
Here is a substantial embodiment of the historical aspects of the state park system, but you will be interested in knowing what the people do with these lands now that they own them. First, the parks and historical monuments must be provided with the ordinary facilities needed by crowds of people. A clean supply of water must be provided along with adequate and proper comfort facilities, adequate areas to park automobiles so that they do not destroy the site, as the automobile actually does if not controlled. Then after that, the necessary shelters, picnic stoves and benches, waste receptacles, foot and horse trails and over-night accommodations, including cabins and even hotels are in order, in accordance with the actual need.

Once those are established, the real problem arises. The public which visits these places is particularly fond of leaving its several names or initials, sometimes addresses, presumably to add to the richness of their history. We discourage this in several ways. When the case is an unusually flagrant one, we hunt up the author and require him or her to go back and erase the name. This was done successfully on one occasion at New Salem State Park and that action, with appropriate publicity, has undoubtedly prevented many from leaving their names. In the Starved Rock Park where we have erected trail maps for the information of the visitors we have erected alongside those signs a little white post and sign board on which is the following legend: "If you must leave your names in the State Park, please put them here and not on the trail map." The trail maps are singularly free from names and the boards are almost completely filled. If you historians approve such a policy, it might be appropriate for us

Typical State Parks and Memorials

• *Left, Devil's Stand Table in Giant City State Park.*

• *Below, natural amphitheater in Grant City State Park.*

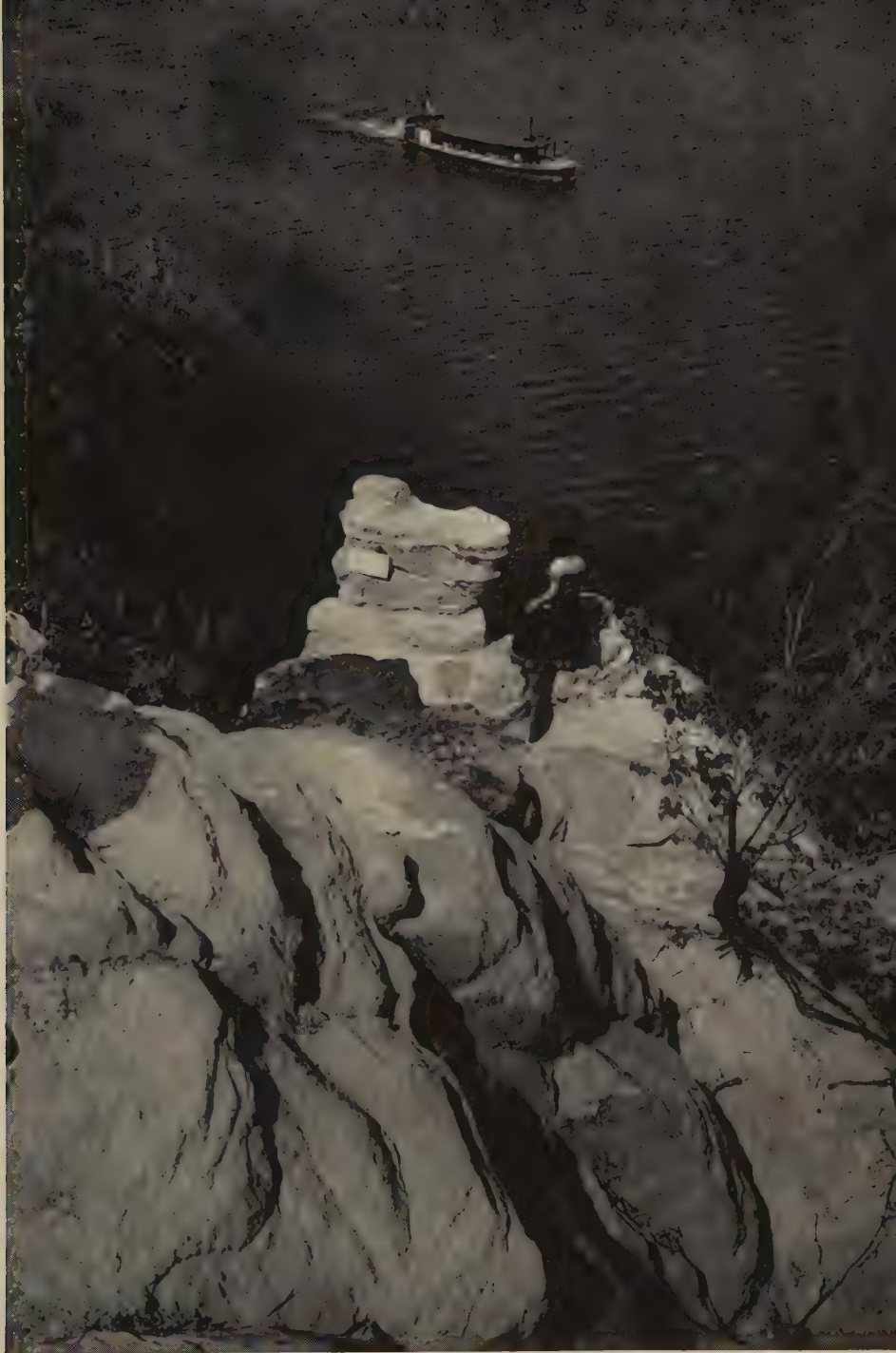


• *Left, "Giant City" section in Giant City State Park.*

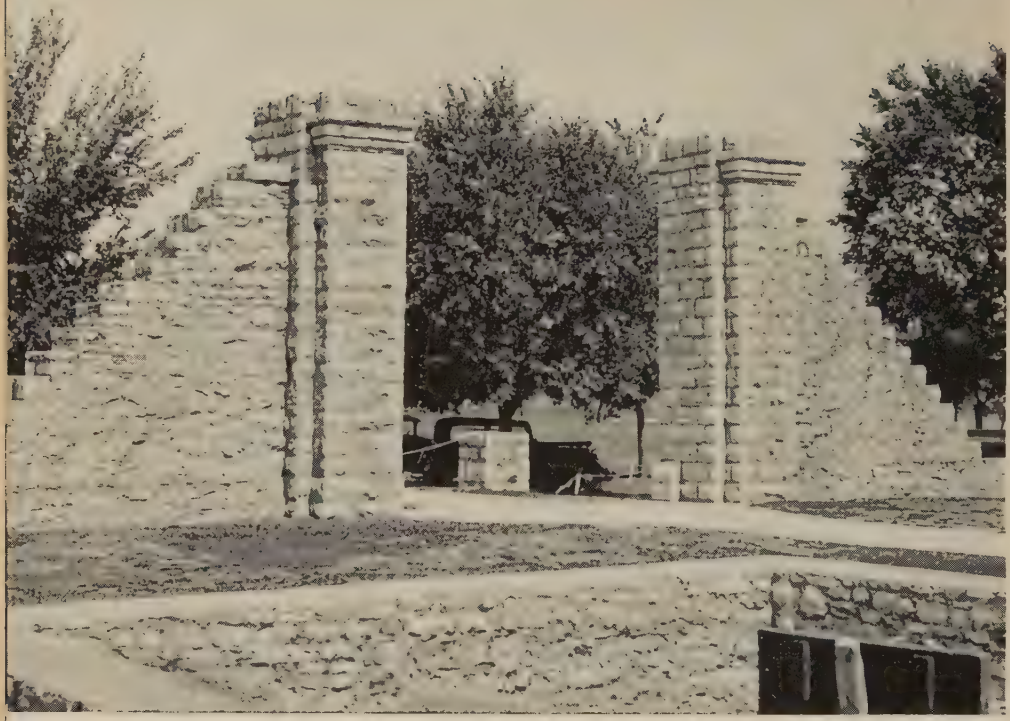
• *Below, air view of Monks' Mound, Cahokia Mounds State Park. This mound, largest of the entire group, has a base area of sixteen acres, and is 100 feet in height.*

• *Above, the mouth of Cave-in-Rock.*

• *Below Starved Rock, site of Fort St. Louis, 1682.*



• *Pulpit Rock, Starved Rock State Park.*



• *Gateway at Fort de Chartres, before and after the recent restoration.*

• *Powder magazine at Fort de Chatres, before and after the recent restoration.*

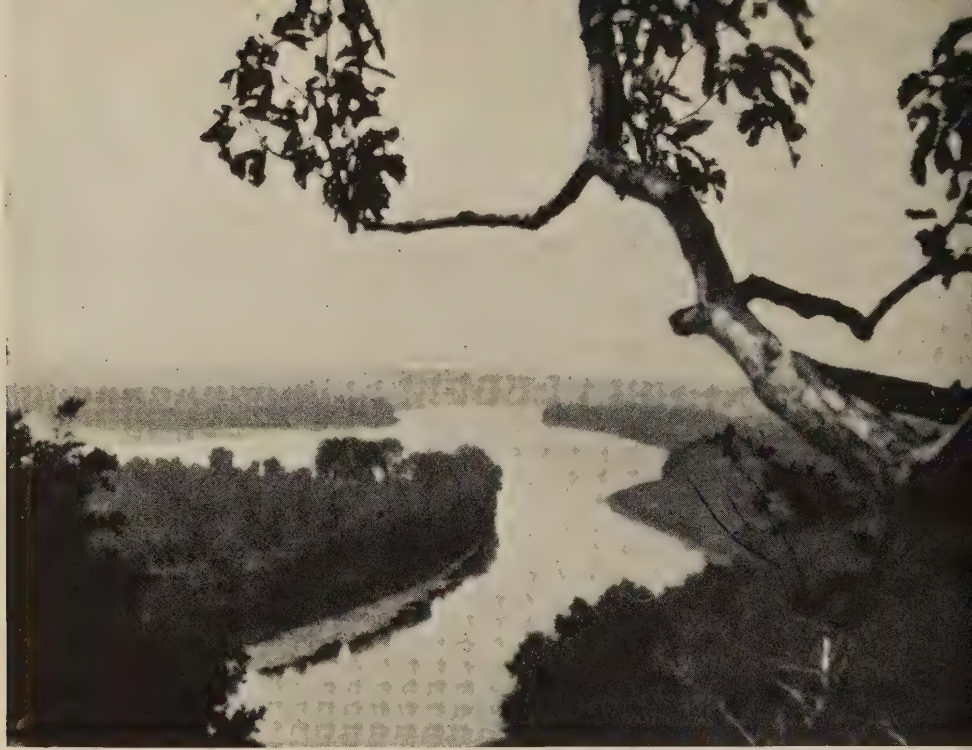
• *Above, site of Fort Kaskaskia. The original earth works are still visible.*

• *Below, George Rogers Clark monument at Fort Massac State Park.*

• *Left, Garrison Hill Cemetery, where many of the first settlers of Illinois are buried.*

• *Below, the home of Pierre Menard.*

• *Below, Fort Crevecoeur Monument near Peoria.*



• *Two views of the Mississippi from the Mississippi Palisades State Park.*

• *Above, a part of New Salem State Park, showing, from left to right, the Samuel Hill house, the Hill-McNamar store, the Lincoln-Berry store, and the Peter Lukins cabin.*

• *Below, the Lincoln-Berry store.*

• *Interiors of two of the restored cabins at New Salem. Top, the Samuel Hill residence. Bottom, Peter Lukins cabin.*

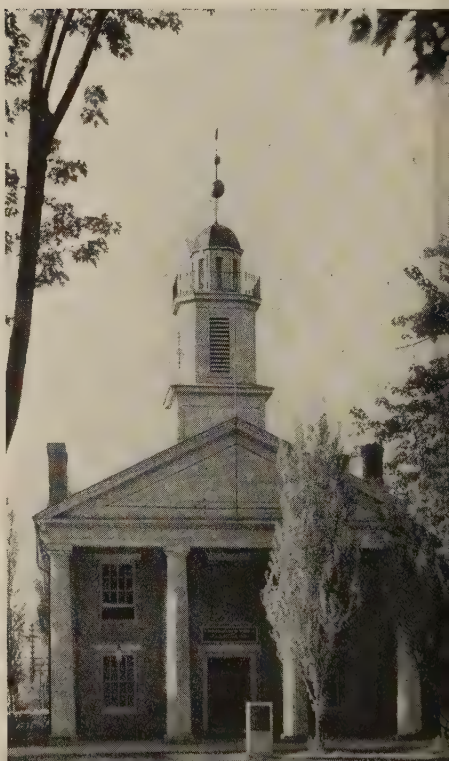
• *Chapel in Jubilee College State Park.*

• *Below, tow path along the Illinois and Michigan Canal near Channahon.*

• *Right, the Vandalia State House.*

• *Left below, Stephen A. Douglas monument, Chicago.*

• *Right below, Metamora Court House.*



• *Above, Ulysses S. Grant home at Galena.*

• *Below, home of Abraham Lincoln, Springfield.*

properly the restoration of the interiors of the Ulysses S. Grant Home, the Lincoln Homestead, the Vandalia State House and other such memorials.

For the future, there seem to be other sites and buildings which should be acquired, perhaps restored or repaired and certainly maintained by the state. Among those which occur to me offhand are the Mormon city and some of the buildings still standing at Nauvoo; certain buildings at Shawneetown and others in Elizabethtown, the scenes of early settlement of Illinois; the old State House at Springfield now used as a county court house; Kaskaskia Island, old Fort Gage and the first territorial capitol; the Dickson Mounds near Lewistown; the site of the old mill on Rock Creek, Morrison, Illinois; the old mill at Oswego on Rock River; five covered wooden bridges in Sangamon County; and the birthplace of Jane Addams north of Freeport.

A major policy that we have followed has been the attempt to abandon the museum type of collection in our historic buildings or sites.

At Cahokia Mounds State Park, a little museum was built and then filled to overflowing with so many private collections of arrow heads and other Indian and pre-Indian artifacts that it was difficult, if not impossible, to see any of the articles. At the risk of offending lenders of these exhibits, we persuaded them to take most or all of them back and we have confined these exhibits almost to state-owned materials which now are so arranged, with the advice of Mr. Paul M. Angle and Mr. A. S. Coggeshall of the State Museum of Natural History, that people can actually see them.

At Metamora, the upstairs room, formerly used as a court room, was filled with glass cases of every conceivable shape, size and design, bequeathed to this building after they became useless somewhere else. In them were such conglomerate groups of clothing, fire arms, uniforms and furniture that no one could possibly gain the impression that this was a court house in which Lincoln, Ingersoll, Douglas and others tried famous cases before Judge Davis. After obtaining the coöperation of the American Legion by removing their quarters to another building, we re-arranged most of this material and got at least part way in our plan to make the court room look like the court room did when it was so

used. Collections of sea shells, and other items foreign to this court house or to Woodford County, ought gradually to be returned to their donors and the building actually restored as the court house and the court room scene.

I remember a visit made to the Fort de Chartres museum, when the first thing to greet the eye was a stuffed tiger, probably not native to Randolph County. There was a medical library of real value to some one, but not a proper part of the Fort de Chartres collection. There were butterflies, starfish and many other interesting historical objects, few of which were appropriate to the fort. And there were two captured war cannon, I believe of German make, out in front of the 1753 Fort de Chartres. Again with the coöperation of the American Legion, the cannon were removed from the park to the village of Prairie du Rocher. Into the fort there have been brought two brass copies of an old French cannon bearing the date 1743 which was found in the Rock Island Arsenal some months ago.

Much of the extraneous and foreign animal and insect life were removed from the museum and there is now practically completed a set of shallow glass cases to be mounted against the walls, in which will be early maps of the territory, reproductions of early drawings of the fort itself, painted copies of the uniforms of the French and British soldiers and of the early American soldiers who frequented the territory and perhaps occupied the fort.

So you may see from this quick tour of some of the historic sites of Illinois, something of the problems the state park official faces in developing them in an appropriate and authentic manner, and in protecting the properties from too arduous friends.

NOTE. The editor of this volume is indebted to the Department of Public Works and Buildings for permission to use many of the illustrations from the latest edition of the Department's publication, *Illinois State Parks and Memorials*. He has also followed the layout of that publication shamelessly.

THE FRENCH REGIME IN ILLINOIS

A Challenge to Historical Scholarship

By Theodore C. Pease

The history of Illinois is ancient, but the successive groups who have played their parts in it, unconscious of its unity, have but too often ignored its full antiquity. The great European migrations of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century have little knowledge or understanding of the stiff Puritan New Englanders who settled northern Illinois in the forties and fifties, and upheld the hands of Abraham Lincoln in the crusade against slavery. Those New Englanders in their turn had no affinity for the easy-going pioneer society of those Southerners and Pennsylvanians, the associates of Lincoln's youth, who had drifted into the state in the twenties and thirties and who had so largely drifted out again in the forties and fifties. Those men in their turn had little connection with the riflemen who had come on the heels of George Rogers Clark to fuse with the remaining French inhabitants for good or ill in anarchy, lawlessness or self-created government. When the pioneers of these men came at the end of the Revolution the strongest and the most characteristic elements of the French régime had in successive waves of departure carried away with them the essential traditions of their epoch. In the day of the Frenchman in the Old Northwest the confused stories that Nicolas Perrot heard and set down of the revolutions of Illinois, Winnebago, Ottawa, and Iroquois in the epoch immediately preceding Marquette and Jolliet are little more than the babble of imaginative children mingling fact and fancy as only children can. And the tradition of the preceding primitive occupants of the region is forever gone.

In fact the term 'palimpsest' applied to the historical journal of a neighboring state is the fit term for Illinois history as its makers have recorded it. Each new group has scraped from the parchment the record of its predecessors before recording its own deeds; and beneath the successive erasures the earlier records become increasingly difficult to decipher. Each period tells its own legends

of the preceding eras. Thomas Ford, concocting a yarn, such as were spun at the circuit dinners of the Illinois of the thirties, about the origin of the name Vandalia, told the story of wags who foisted onto the gullible assembly of 1819-1821 the commemoration of an extinct Indian tribe known as the Vandals; of the fact that the name of the projected colony of Vandalia was common knowledge in the West 1770-1780, Ford evidently knew nothing. The familiar legend of Starved Rock, of which it can only be said that no contemporary record exists, save the fact that in earlier years Illinois tribes were once and again starved into submission on the summit of The Rock, is in all likelihood something not dissimilar.

All this confusion and misconception entertained by each generation of recorders of Illinois history for what preceded, has cast down the gage of defiance to the trained student of history; and the trained student of history has lifted the gage and well and truly set about achieving the adventure of rescuing the true history of the state from ignorance, misconception, and legend. To carve out a history of Illinois that shall be a record and a continuity, a chain of historical sequence beginning, it may be, with the end of the glacial epoch and descending to our own era,—this is his worthy and weighty undertaking. To achieve it he must search out his materials far and wide where they may be found.

Thus, the anthropologist is painfully resurrecting out of the dust beneath our feet the artifacts and skeletons that are mute witnesses to the continuity of primitive life, their tongues suddenly loosed when they are scientifically compared with other artifacts it may be at the uttermost ends of the North American continent. Such witnesses are unimaginative, unemotional, but sure. They will not give us strange tales of an Indian tribe plotting to poison another wholesale, or a tribe succored by another and venting its rage on the good Samaritans. They will often tell us less than the whole truth; never, when carefully listened to, more. Their story will extend down to the time when the white man, pen in hand, will at last demonstrate the infinite superiority of the worst written record to the best oral tradition.

More immediately in the field of history rather than of anthropology as the example of what the trained scholar can do, let me turn to the British period of Illinois history, 1763-1778.

Clarence Walworth Alvord found that field a jumble of fact and tradition. In remaking it he consciously or unconsciously sought guidance of an historian we have been too ready to forget—George Bancroft. The generation of scholars with whom I learned my trade contemptuously dismissed Bancroft as "spread eagle," because he fervently and religiously believed in the altruistic mission of his country as the guardian of human liberty; of the fact that they and not he were insular and provincial in their historical outlook they were comfortably unaware. Bancroft wrote the history of the American Revolution with adequate attention to the effect of the politics of England and of western Europe in molding it; his narrative might be lyric, but it was based on adequately broad materials. Only in our own times have we recaptured Bancroft's breadth of outlook and material. In this achievement Alvord was first among the pioneers.

Alvord recovered the conception of the British period of Illinois history as a function of English imperial policies and American resistances to them. Out of materials 4,000 miles away in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, the muniment rooms of British noble families, he found materials to amplify the meager local records that lay forgotten in the court houses of Belleville and Chester. Out of all he refashioned for us the true story of the British occupation of the Illinois in its proper relations to the history of British imperialism and the history of the American Revolution. Had his health been equal to his inspiration Alvord might have done us the further service of exploring back to the period immediately preceding the one which he mastered for us, and of documenting for us the French adventure in Illinois. But the odds were against him. Only in middle life did his opportunity and leisure come to him. Frail in health, he yet burned the candle at both ends to take advantage of them. A decade of achievement was allotted him and then his health was taken.

That the story of the French régime in the Illinois stands as it stands today is largely because of that wizard of the North, Francis Parkman. A romanticist in essence, he set himself to recapture the romance of the great French adventurers in North America, and writing the pages of that romance he naturally came to Father Marquette and to LaSalle. He sought the material stuff of their careers where he might and bound it to the soil of the

state. That unconsciously graphic picture drawn for us by the great romanticist of his sitting on the front porch of a country Illinois hotel in the cool of a summer evening describing to a wondering audience of farmers and farm hands the terrain they knew so well as he had learned it from French sources centuries old and resting thousands of miles away, and thereby satisfying himself as to the location of the great village of the Illinois, epitomizes his contribution to the state's history.

But because the first concoction of the state's French history as we have become conscious of it was after this wise, it has inevitably taken on the form of anticlimax. Tonty of the Iron Hand is romantic; the name at least of La Forest is romantic if his matrimonial entanglement is in the vein of Moon Mullins, but as we pass out of the reflected light that gleams from the halo of Marquette and from the uplifted sword with which LaSalle takes possession of Louisiana in the name of Louis XIV, we enter an increasingly workaday world. An occasional romantic figure like D'Artaguette relieves the gloom but finally on October 10, 1765, St. Ange musters his ragamuffin troops of the marine, by procès verbal most unromantically to turn Fort de Chartres over to Captain Stirling of the Black Watch and to end the French régime in Illinois.

So the romanticist regarded the French régime. The modern school of history of course completely eschews the point of view that makes possible such a treatment. That shameless old voluptuary Anatole France remarked that there were no completely unattractive women any more than there were any completely dull books; and the modern historian decides that there are no unimportant or uninteresting periods of history; that every one of them has both its interest and its necessary rôle in the evolution of the whole.

In this belief Alvord had been schooled. To the best of his ability he strove to treat the French period as a whole in which Marquette and LaSalle should have no more than their due mention and in which the colonial story should be linked to the colonial policies and rivalries of England and France. But as was said his health failed him. Till too late he was denied the personal access to European archives that would have been the inspiration

of his manhood. Lacking it he had to work on the basis of transcripts selected for him by men far less able than himself.

One additional consideration in the reconstruction of the French régime I must call to your attention. The territorial labors of other states have occasionally tended to obscure the problem. For the spade work in source publication and interpretation done by New York, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Indiana we can feel only profound gratitude. But the reference to state boundaries may too easily produce distortion. One of the very greatest of scholars in western history has just published a really able book, *The British Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest,* and the author with appropriate blushes has to admit that after 1763 there was no British post within the present bounds of Wisconsin. Careful as I should be of the sensibilities of good friends in other states, I must insist that French officials did not write of Wisconsin, Indiana, or even Minnesota; they spoke of Ohio only as a territory bordering the river they alternately called the Beautiful River, extending from the headwaters of the Alleghany to the mouth of the Wabash. Instead they spoke, along with their subordinate posts, of The Detroit, Michillimackinac, and the Illinois.

Here at last we confront the materials for the unified study of French activity in the West, in which Illinois occupies an integral and important position, but in which above all we shall strive to see the situation as the French saw it in a synthesis. As sources on French doings in the West, printed books and pamphlets were naturally the first materials to be employed. They have done their service in the past. As collected into great series such as the *Jesuit Relations* they have yet more to do. Even the galaxy of writers from Hennepin to LePage du Pratz may still have their use. But in those days far less than in the present must we look to see the whole truth in printed books. They were censored; if they came from official sources they were inspired; if not, they lacked information as to official intent.

Essentially therefore our story of the French régime must be rewritten from manuscript sources whose repositories may lie anywhere from a thousand to four thousand miles from the state of Illinois. Of those the obvious ones, already often used by students of western history, are the correspondences of the French

ministers with the governors of Canada and Louisiana. They are supplemented, thanks to the fact that the ministers of Versailles frequently went over the heads of their governors and corresponded directly with commandants in the western posts, with some letters from men in the West. This wheat has already been threshed again and again, but despite reasonably satisfactory calendars such as that of Mrs. Surrey-Miller, choice grain is yet to be gleaned in the great out-series of Colonies B, and in the series of Colonies C11a and C13a for Canada and Louisiana respectively in the Archives Nationales in Paris.

One type of that still gleanable grain I may specify. Between 1740 and 1755 series C11a contains hundreds upon hundreds of bills and vouchers drawn by commandants in the western posts for their purchase of needed services and supplies. Sometimes the bills exist, sometimes only abstracts of them. But either conveys a vast mass of detailed information as to what was happening at the western posts. Expenditures stated to incite Indian villages to the warpath, to soothe their resentments against the French or against other tribes, to condole with them for the loss of chiefs or warriors; names of traders, kinds of goods in circulation, prices, charges for boarding and lodging officers and enlisted men, hire of teams by the day for hauling pickets or transferring goods over portages, pay for various services ranging from those of sempstresses making shirts for the Indians to those of carpenters building houses for them or blacksmiths repairing their guns; seen through such material the social and economic life of the western posts suddenly becomes three-dimensioned and goes alive. In still another series not in the Colonies at all more of the same material appears for the period of the last years of the Seven Years' War; but it all awaits the fusing touch of the historical master.

Other materials exist from which similarly we may vitalize the economic and social life of the West from the earliest days. At Montreal in the archives of the Palais de Justice such material exists in rich veins. I allude to such material as appears in our recent volume of the Illinois Historical Collections, *The French Foundations*. The greater part of it, calendared by the Archivist of the Province of Quebec, consists of the *engagements* into which the voyageurs entered with LaSalle, Tonty, La Forest and their

successors to go on exploring or trading expeditions to the Detroit and the Illinois. But there is other material; recorded feudal grants by LaSalle and Tonty to favored followers in the Illinois and the Arkansas, agreements to lend money for western enterprizes, agreements of commandants of western posts for subletting their monopolies of the trade of their posts to Montreal firms and what not. A rich sample batch of this material is to be found in the Otto L. Schmidt Collection in the Chicago Historical Society. Perhaps our most recent advance in our conception of western history consists in our appreciation of the material available for the economic history of the French West in the files of the French notaries.

What further material is at hand for the reconstruction of the internal life of the West under France beyond what lies in Montreal, Quebec and Paris? There are relatively small collections of documents local in character in the Chicago Historical Society, at Belleville, at Chester, and at Detroit. Sometimes a chance find turns up. When the Huntington Library acquired the papers of the Earl of Loudoun, British commander-in-chief in America, 1756-1757, there was found among them a body of the papers of the Marquis de Vaudreuil from 1741-1752 when he was governor of Louisiana; here are almost 300 folio pages of correspondence with upper Louisiana, and specially the Illinois, for the critical period, 1750-1752. This material will appear in a forthcoming volume of the Illinois Historical Collections.

In the larger sense what other materials on the French régime are available? In a recent review one eminent scholar pointed to LaSalle's European relationships and rivalries with other national projects of exploiting interior America. Perhaps additional grain does exist here for the gleaner, though to my mind what can be winnowed out of Peñalosa, Bernou, and Renaudet on the larger purposes of LaSalle is not vitally interesting or important. More promising is the work Dr. Fulmer Mood has done in London on the literature with which the colonial enterprises of the seventeenth century were promoted. Mainly devoted to England and her colonies, his researches have turned up many interesting by-products on the French régime. The documentation from Jesuit and other ecclesiastical archives in Europe of the European background of missionary enterprise in the West similarly is important.

The tracing into the channels of international trade of the furs originating in the West will yield conclusions of interest and value.

And again returning to the international viewpoint, the rivalries of the European powers have had their influence on western affairs in a manner which hitherto has been too much ignored. The attempts of the European powers to adjust their respective claims to territory in the western country, amicably or by force, can only be adequately appraised in the light of the whole of European diplomacy. One forthcoming volume of the Illinois Historical Collections will deal with the boundary controversies of France and England in the Old Northwest in the period of the Seven Years' War; for with all the attention given to that war in our histories and research, the regional controversies and claims that caused it have been so completely ignored that most of the things we think we know about it are not so. And in a lesser sense the same thing applies to the whole sweep of western history before the American Revolution. Its part in European diplomacy stands completely forgotten.

At first sight it would seem that the materials for these controveries would be in the archives of the foreign offices of the powers in question and measurably that is so. But the English diplomatic correspondence for the period barely tells a tenth of the story. There are gaps. The volume of foreign office correspondence with France for the last half of 1754 was probably removed from the files for the Earl of Shelburne; at all events it is in the collection of his papers in the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor, Michigan. The real foreign correspondence of the period is in the papers of the Duke of Newcastle in the British Museum. Three of these volumes labeled as American have been used by American scholars. The remaining hundreds of volumes are a rich unworked mine of colonial American history. Notably the Newcastle Papers contain not merely most of the ostensible diplomatic correspondence down to 1762; they also contain copies of the private secret materials that were kept out of the foreign office files. The papers of other English ministers of the period, preserved in the British Museum or the Public Record Office or retained by their families, offer interesting materials too on western history in the colonial era.

In France we are not so fortunate. There the papers of the

families that strove for New France either in the wilderness or in European diplomacy too often went up in smoke when in the French Revolution the peasants destroyed family archives wholesale to blot out the feudal and manorial records of their unfree tenure. Much of what remains has been swept into the great repository of the Bibliothèque Nationale; but even there it is unimpressive. For example, the scraps of correspondence of La Salle's associates and heirs preserved there really add little to our knowledge of his career.

Conversely it must be said that the material in public archives in France is relatively more complete and useful than that in England. In the Archives Nationales one colonial series, C11E, contains papers collected for the use of the commissioners who in the early 1750's were engaged in setting forth France's claims in America. The diplomatic correspondence of course is in the archives of the Affaires Etrangères. Here again the astonishing Viry-Solar correspondence between the Sardinian ministers at the courts of France and England who as dishonest brokers made the Treaty of Paris between the two powers, astonishing in its revelations of the indiscretions of statesmen and hinting at even greater indiscretions for which the evidence has been suppressed, the supreme source for the making of the Peace of 1763, reposes in the senior surviving copy at Ann Arbor,—once again in the hoardings of the squirrel-like Earl of Shelburne.

In short we see that the real sources for the history of Illinois in the period of French rule are far outside her boundaries; at Ann Arbor, at Montreal, at Quebec, at London, at Paris. But those sources are in very truth to be considered lost archives of the state of Illinois to be recovered before her archives stand complete for the whole course of her wondrous story, far more wondrous than we thought it a generation ago.

Furthermore her archives at London and Paris stand exposed to the hazards of another European war. Just across Chancery Lane from the Public Record Office, you may still see the marks of a German bomb. A fraction of a second's hesitation in the trigger finger of the pilot who launched it, and much of Illinois history would be forever lost. Through the Illinois Historical Survey the University of Illinois for many years back, latterly at an accelerated pace, has been acquiring in transcript or photostat

these missing archives of Illinois; but the task will not be done until the last shreds of that material gleaned from unlikely places have been photostated and duly deposited, an official part of the records of the state's past in the archives at Springfield. Ninety-five years ago in a depression apparently more hopeless than our own the state of New York set us an admirable example; and to the present day many of our students have had to subsist for material on the crumbs of this bounty.

Once this material is obtained we must learn how to use it. More scholars must be developed, capable of deciphering the French of semi-illiterate officers in the West who spelled phonetically and who sometimes had a strangely corrupt ear. One I recollect whose accent must have been terrifically German, for all his t's are d's. Even more difficult is the deciphering of the literate scrawls of such penmen as the notaries of Montreal, notably Antoine Adhémar, concerning whom archivists whose experience is measured by scores of years, confess that one page of Antoine's writing is at least a day's work in decipherment. But all the charm of historical pioneering will attach to the painstaking recovery from scrawl and jargon of the story of a fascinating past.

The audience before me will not ask, of what worth all this? but very many people of the state will. Easily you can think of many conclusive answers. Let me offer just one which has been running in my mind of late.

In this state, as in the Union as a whole, we are increasingly becoming converts to regional planning. We have recognized that if men build up a city on the same individualist basis that the pioneer set up his half-faced camp in the heart of a forest, forty years of decay will bring you such eye-sores as you may observe on the outskirts of the business sections of many American cities. We have recognized that we might as well afford men in advance the information that to set up a farm on this barren land, to build a factory in that spot will be useless; that they might as well spare their labor and leave our cities, our countryside to be developed on an economic and social plan that will be really utilitarian, and also will contain the elements of beauty.

In other words, the individual pioneer restlessness can now well be directed in such fashion that it may stay out of the breadline, and restless roaming be replaced by a certain degree, to quote

Professor Gay, not of rigidity, but of stability. And in stability a vital factor will be humanity's consciousness of its past, consciousness of the past of the region in which it lives and labors. A sense of security, of safety will come from the consciousness that the person of the present is merely carrying on the work of other human beings stretching farther and farther back into a distant past. And community stability, a community sense of security, a community sense of oneness with the past are gifts which cannot be given without the coöperation of state history broadly conceived and truly recorded.

SOURCES OF EARLY ILLINOIS CULTURE

By Earl W. Hayter

In this essay on the sources of early Illinois culture I have but one objective. I desire to point out that the sources of culture of this pioneer community lay mainly in eastern and European states; that the influences which stimulated its growth, and the institutions which resulted from this growth, were eastern in character. This of course will necessitate a study of comparisons in order to determine the origins. I recognize at the outset that this is a contentious subject and one that only youth would dare to delineate upon. For the frontier interpretation of American life is deeply woven into our mental fabric and to question it might be considered unorthodox, but even so it is becoming increasingly evident, as one reads the recent writings, that the historical scholarship of the frontier of the past half-century is no longer adequate.[1] It has been too singular in its treatment and it has failed to take cognizance of the essential unity of American and European history. Some of the most recent historians have accused the late Frederick Jackson Turner and his disciples of writing history in a vacuum, and of ignoring the fact that influences outside of the United States have, with few exceptions, directed the course of the American people.

The brilliant writings of Professor Turner on the American frontier were written mainly from an environmentalist point of view. He and his disciples have laid great emphasis on the wilderness as a creating factor. It was the forest, the Indians, the cheap land that produced American society. They considered little the origins of the people; but instead isolated the frontier from the whole—it was the environment that reacted upon the pioneer and recreated him into an American product. Such a method of analysis is comparable to the physician who studies in detail some par-

[1] Dixon Ryan Fox, *Ideas in Motion* (New York, London, 1935); Dixon Ryan Fox, ed., *Sources of Culture in the Middle West* (New York, London, 1934); W. B. Munro, *The Invisible Government* (1928), 73-77; James G. Leyburn, *Frontier Folkways* (New Haven, 1935); B. F. Wright in *New England Quarterly*, VI (Sept. 1933), 630-34; B. F. Wright, "American Democracy and the Frontier," *Yale Review*, XX (1930), 349ff; J. H. Barnhart, "Southern Leadership of the Old Northwest," *Journal of Southern History*, I (May, 1935), 186-97.

ticular organ in isolation from the whole anatomy. In one of Professor Turner's classical generalizations he says: "Their [the pioneer's] most fundamental traits, their institutions, even their ideals were shaped by their interaction between the wilderness and themselves."[2] Again he states that our history "is not a history of imitation, of simple borrowing; it is a history of the evolution and adaptation of organs in response to changed environment."[3] Many such statements can be found in his works, and most of us are sufficiently familiar with his thesis to know that he was an environmentalist almost to the point of a determinist. However, this can be accounted for by the fact that he had broken with the older historical school which discovered the origins of American society in the Germanic forests, and had become an ardent disciple of the historical materialists who interpreted social phenomena in terms of action and interaction of environmental influences.

This method of investigation has been very provocative and probably no school of writers has had a greater influence than the frontier historians; but, the end result has not been altogether wholesome. It has tended to emphasize the parts rather than the whole and in consequence has shaped itself beautifully into the nationalistic and scientific developments of the nineteenth century. In order to break down the isolationism that has been so prevalent in our country during the past century it will be necessary to enlarge our perspective and approach our national history from a world-wide view. This study is presented with the idea in mind that the Turner thesis may be more adequately appraised; that it may furnish materials which may eliminate its validity or illustrate the points at which it needs to be amended.

Before tracing the origin of the cultural antecedents in early Illinois I wish to enumerate briefly a few characteristics common to all pioneer communities. These are essential for any study of frontier life. In the first place we find in any geographical area where men and women settle far removed from their homeland, an immediate social and cultural retardation, and the farther away the periphery lies from the center of population, the longer the time necessary for the community to return to the level of the

[2] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), 293.
[3] *Ibid.*, 205-06.

mother country. If their place of settlement happens to be along the routes of travel and in touch with the outside world, progress is generally rapid. However, if they happen to be shut off from the sources of culture there is likelihood that growth will be very slow. A good example of this is Appalachia where many of the Elizabethan forms are still alive today.

In the second place a frontier society possesses a rudimentary social consciousness, and this often reveals itself in two closely connected forms: first, in an awareness of strong individual personalities, and second, in an awareness of momentous public events. These elements have occasionally led historians astray by causing them to overemphasize individuals and events and to think of the fragment of society as though it were distinct from the whole of society, failing of course to realize that in a less rigid community such as is found on the frontier, ordinary happenings and personalities have a tendency to be over-evaluated.

Another important characteristic of frontier society is its method of growth. How does a pioneer community develop? Most students of the subject, I believe, will agree that it comes about through some process of challenge-and-response. The physical environment naturally serves as one of the important challenges, sometimes so exacting that the whole social activity is absorbed in re-establishing and maintaining social existence; but as a rule the immediate surroundings are only a portion of the stimuli to action. In many respects the more important portion is the social environment, the world of social influences which encompass it. It is the examination of this latter phase which is our concern.

Illinois was settled first by the French but their influence in developing the state was so negligible that it can be disregarded. We were interested here with the American occupation which began shortly before the turn of the nineteenth century. By 1830 the southern part of the state was well settled; a certain degree of stability and specialization had been attained, and one can safely conclude that the pioneer conditions were beginning to disappear. It is the cultural origins of this group—the period from about 1790 to 1830—that I wish to analyze.

The racial origins of these settlers were varied, most of them coming from the tidewater and upland regions of the South, consisting largely of English, Scotch-Irish, Welsh and German blood.

A smattering came in from western Pennsylvania, New York and the New England states and some settlements were made by enlightened English, German and Swiss emigrants; enough so at least to make the community somewhat cosmopolitan in character.[4]

Settlement of the southern part of the state by this somewhat heterogeneous stock of people was a gradual infiltration on an uneven line; it was not a solid advance and occupation. As the individuals or small groups came into this section each brought with it its own mental framework, feelings, *mores* and special competences inherited from its past. This gradual flow of cultural patterns from more mature communities into a less mature community, gave the necessary challenge for cultural growth. This stimulation continued until the people had developed a specialization on a level with that of the East.[5] I would say that this was noticeable by about 1830; however, it was not until the fifties and sixties that Illinois began to make significant contributions. But the point I wish to make here is that the syntheses resulting from these responses were neither exact replicas of the mother country nor were they distinct creations of the frontier as our environmentalists would have us believe. They were, however, I believe, after one gets beyond the minor differences and peculiarities upon which our frontier historians have so greatly enlarged, a product very much like those in the western world.

One creation so often acclaimed as indigenous to the West is that of political democracy. Let us examine this thesis from the standpoint of early Illinois developments. We have already noted that many of her early citizens came from Europe and the seaboard states where civilization was then in transit. In those areas by 1830—the post-Napoleonic period—there were decided revulsions against aristocratic and conservative governments. Liberalism was in the air. As Professor Munro says: "The pendulum was taking one of its world-wide swings."[6] Yet there was no such thing as "frontier influences" especially in the European states. In the case of Illinois we find no radical democratic contributions. Ninian Edwards, the first territorial governor, inaugurated in

[4] See Solon J. Buck, *Illinois in 1818* (Springfield, 1917), 92-95; Beverly W. Bond, *The Civilization of the Old Northwest* (New York, 1934), 185-206; Fox, *Sources of Culture in the Middle West*, 44; William V. Pooley, *Settlement of Illinois, 1830-1850* (Madison, 1908), 316.

[5] Fox presents an interesting thesis in his book, *Ideas in Motion*, where he holds that the progress of civilization can be measured directly by the degree of specialization functioning within the community.

[6] Munro, *Invisible Government*, 73-78.

1809 the policy of allowing the people of each county to choose their own civil and military officers, but soon departed from this policy and made appointments at his own discretion. His democratic ideals did not always jibe with his personal responsibilities. In 1812 Illinois had only 220 freeholders eligible to vote out of a population of 12,282. An act was passed that same year giving the franchise to every "free white male person of twenty-one or over who paid either county or territory taxes." Several of the seaboard states had already by this time abandoned the tax requirement.[7] The Illinois constitution of 1818 made few departures from the forms already inaugurated in some of the older state and local governments. Illinois was not blazing a new trail when political equality was granted in 1818, for a number of eastern states had already abolished property and tax qualifications.[8] In fact the Illinois constitution showed a reactionary tendency in the matter of the veto power by withholding it from the governor, as was not the case in some of the other state constitutions. However, it should be noted that the religious qualifications for officeholders were not required as was done in most of the older states. But to say that this was a frontier creation is misleading for there had been developing in the eastern part of the United States and in Europe for decades a decided opposition to this limitation. I think we can say that on the whole the democratic wave which was sweeping the world in the twenties and thirties was no stronger in Illinois than elsewhere, for we find in the presidential election of 1824 that the state's vote was swung to John Quincy Adams instead of to the great western democrat, Andrew Jackson.[9]

The Illinois community was not in the vanguard in extending political democracy, nor did it make any departures from the old in governmental machinery. Its government was patterned after the familiar types—a single executive, a bicameral legislature and a hierarchy of courts. The bill of rights was taken from the Virginia constitution.[10] In local government it is the same story—the older patterns moved west. The Virginia county-

[7] Fox, *Sources of Culture in the Middle West*, 23-25.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Theodore C. Pease, *Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848* (Springfield, 1923), 30.

[10] *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1910*, 81-104. The directing spirit in the constitutional convention of 1818 was Elias Kent Kane, who was born in New York and educated at Yale College. Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 262-93.

type was accepted in the constitution of 1818.[11] As for the laws enacted, we do not find that they were indigenous products. A few do represent a rough attempt to adjust the peculiar needs of the territory, but of the twelve acts passed outright, between 1809 and 1811, eleven of them were taken from codes of the southern states. Older precedence predominated, and it was perfectly natural that it should do so for it would have been impossible to have devised all the higher forms that were needed.

To further strengthen my argument, let us analyze the leadership personnel to whose duty it fell to mould and direct the embryonic governmental machinery of Illinois. The men who filled the important offices in the government were largely from the South. A few came from northern states and some from foreign countries.[12] Until 1847 all the senators from Illinois but two were from the South.[13] Those who practised law in the courts were likewise cosmopolitan in character. Of the thirty-one important characters in 1809 who left sufficient information to determine their origin, fourteen were from southern states and eight from foreign countries. Of this group there were fourteen with college or university training and some had traveled abroad. The better merchants who participated in public affairs were acquainted with eastern trends by their periodic trips to the larger cities to purchase merchandise. Thus it was natural that the early institutions of Illinois would be modeled after those with which these leaders were acquainted and would embody, in part at least, the world-wide forces that were then at work.

Early Illinois agriculture was likewise developed along conventional lines. The first settlers began their farming operations on a subsistence level. There was no incentive for them to produce surpluses since markets were more or less shut off from them; and prices at home were miserably low due to an insufficient middle-class group. Furthermore, the farmer's implements and tools were crude and his manufacturing devices inadequate to convert his raw materials into saleable products; and to augment this, his round of labor was so varied that it was utterly impossible

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[11] A. Shaw, "Local Government in Illinois," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, I, 1-8; Francis S. Philbrick, *The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809* (Springfield, 1930), ccxxvii-cclxxxiii.

[12] Bond, *Civilization of the Old Northwest*, 185-206; Philbrick, *op. cit.*, ccxxvii-cclxxxii.

[13] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928).

for him to devote his whole attention to farming. Part of his time was occupied with domestic manufacturing. The introduction of the steamboat, along with a thriving artisan class, in time helped to correct many of these disadvantages as did also the liberal land policy which made cheap land accessible.

But there was another factor that prevented agricultural growth among these people; it was their isolation from the world at large which created in them a repugnance to try new things or to strike out in untried fields. Experimentation was dangerous; with limited resources the failure of a single crop could have brought disaster. This situation compelled them to stand on their own feet and consequently they developed a high regard for their own opinions; they prided themselves on being independent. This conservatism or prejudice became deep-seated and often manifested itself in a form of superstition. Two examples will illustrate what I mean. When the iron mouldboard came into vogue many opposed it on the ground that it would poison the soil; when the steel-tined fork was introduced there was widespread prejudice against such "patent right" tools.[14] These peculiarities gave way only when more intelligent people proved their falseness.

Scientific agriculture which developed in Europe in the eighteenth century reached the American shores during the seventies and eighties of the same century. Such men as Washington, Jefferson and Livingston carried on extensive correspondence with men in England and France and as a consequence introduced many European innovations. Agricultural periodicals were established and clubs were founded; fairs were held for the purpose of stimulating better farm commodities.[15] This same spirit was carried to Illinois by an enterprising class of young men both from home and abroad. The finest example of foreign influence was that of the English settlers in Edwards County in 1818.[16] This colony of intelligent people transplanted from their country many

[14] *Prairie Farmer*, 1844, 169; C. L. Flint, *Eighty Years Progress of the United States* (1867), 27; *Edwardsville Spectator*, March 27, 1821.

[15] B. P. Poore, *History of the Agriculture of the United States* (1866), 512ff.

[16] Morris Birkbeck, *Letters from Illinois* (Philadelphia and Dublin, 1818), 18; Thomas Hulme, "Journal made during a Tour in the Western Countries of America," in William Cobbett, *A Year's Residence in the United States of America* (London, 1822), 270-73; H. J. Strawn. "The English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois," in *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Society, 1910, 50-54.*

of the scientific methods of husbandry. Their wealth and knowledge enabled them to farm on a scale hitherto unknown on the frontier. Under the leadership of Morris Birkbeck there was organized a state agricultural society patterned after those in the East. It was his great ambition to prove the value of prairie farming which up to that date had been neglected. Early settlers had clung to the wooded areas thinking that the prairies were sterile since no timber grew on them. This infant organization was responsible for a number of county societies and throughout its existence it was in close touch with eastern organizations of like nature. It held fairs and offered premiums for the best produce, the best breeds of stock and the most up to date pieces of machinery.[17] At the annual meetings papers were usually read by some of the members, and frequently these were printed in local papers.

With the advent of the German population a new impetus was given to the cultivation of certain crops. Governor Reynolds states that previous to their coming the settlers never raised barley;[18] but with the building of breweries this cereal took on a new importance. One concern in St. Louis offered to furnish the seed to Illinois farmers who would cultivate a patch of it.[19]

The cultivation of fruits and vegetables was likewise retarded. Farmers did sow a few pumpkins and squash in the corn fields and an occasional settler planted a few fruit trees, but generally they moved about too often for fruit growing. Vegetables required a method of husbandry much too intensive for the pioneer, and as yet the housewife knew very little of the art of canning. As more enlightened emigrants with their many varieties of seeds and scions, along with the Yankee peddlers, pushed into the settlements, techniques of preservation as well as new devices were introduced. One illustration will suffice to show how this anastomosis process took place. Mr. Eddy, a prominent farmer and one of the first newspaper editors, tells of receiving a quantity of grape-seed from the Harmony Colony with full instructions on how to cultivate and refine them.[20]

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[17] *Illinois Gazette*, Dec. 25, 1821, Jan. 1, 1822, Oct. 12, 1822; *Edwardsville Spectator*, Dec. 26, 1820; George Flower, *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1882), 147; *Transactions of the Department of Agriculture of the State of Illinois*, XXXVIII, 146ff.

[18] *Transactions Illinois Department of Agriculture*, XIII, 310.

[19] *Missouri Gazette*, July 22, 1815.

[20] P. L. Parker to Henry Eddy, Harmonie, Indiana, February 3, 1820. Eddy Papers.

Settlers for a number of years raised only a nondescript breed of stock. Animals were allowed to run wild in the woods, to cross-breed and to go unsheltered during the winter months. Hogs were often so wild that the owners had to shoot them. But with the augmentation of better classes such as the merchants, doctors and lawyers, who were usually at the same time stock-raisers, blooded animals were introduced. Ninian Edwards came to Illinois in 1809 and brought with him a number of Virginia stallions.[21] Numerous advertisements appeared in local papers describing pure-bred hogs, sheep and cows;[22] bulls were listed as coming from England and Merino rams from Spain.[23] This higher type of domestic animal ultimately forced the careless stock-raiser to better his standard of breeding.

Farming implements and tools were constantly being improved by the influx of eastern models. Settlers who first occupied the land were obliged to manufacture their own machinery which resulted in a crude kind as well as a limited number of them. Flint remarked that the first squatter could have carried all his tools except the cart and harrow upon his back.[24] But as iron became cheaper, and blacksmiths and other artisans more numerous, farmers were afforded better implements. Since patent rights were hardly ever adherred to in frontier settlements, the best inventions could be easily introduced in the West.[25] As a consequence the brush and wooden harrows gave way to iron; shovel plows to the bar-share and iron mouldboard; sickles were superseded by cradles; ox-carts by the iron-tired wagons; straw- and rope-made collars and harness were discarded for those of tanned leather, and wooden-tooth forks and rakes for those of iron and steel. This transition took place over a comparatively short time.

Early architecture was uniformly of the log cabin type. But with the coming of brickmakers who also knew how to design, a new type of structure was developed. These individuals found the local clays very adaptable for their trade. Many of the earliest

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[21] *Missouri Gazette*, November 7, 1812; N. W. Edwards, *History of Illinois, from 1778 to 1883* (Springfield, 1870), 242.

[22] *Missouri Gazette*, May 7, 1811; *Western Intelligencer*, June 5, 1816, Dec. 18, 1816; *Edwardsville Spectator*, Dec. 26, 1820.

[23] *Missouri Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1815; *Illinois Gazette*, Mar. 1, 1823; *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1918* (Washington, 1921), I, 101-04.

[24] C. L. Flint, *Eighty Years Progress*, 24.

[25] James Flint, *Letters from America* (Edinburgh, 1822), 196-97.

private and public brick buildings are still standing in the state today, and not a few, according to an authority on the subject, show the influence of eastern architects who found their way westward during the pioneer period.[26]

Manufacturing in this period was, at least until after the War of 1812, largely domestic. The farmstead was the factory. But there soon began to appear following the war settlers and skilled artisans who possessed the techniques and skills long in use in the older and well established communities. This class of workmen who settled in the newly organized towns created mainly by their presence, made possible a division of labor; the agriculturist could trade or sell his produce and raw materials for manufactured commodities that he needed in the farming business, and the merchant who hitherto had purchased his goods in eastern cities could now secure a few of the finished products for his shelves nearer at hand.[27] Some money was available for these *petits entrepreneurs* from the capital released by the collapse of the commercial interests in 1812, and as a result infant industries began to take root. Thus, by the thirties of the past century, Illinois was beginning to leave the domestic economy stage and to start upon a new career that eventually, along with other states of the Ohio Valley, made her the center of American industry. The revolution that had begun in England nearly a century earlier was now making itself felt in the frontier settlements of Illinois.

Let us next examine the sources of aesthetic culture of these early Illinois settlers; thus far we have been discussing the material aspects of their lives. In the matter of religion it is not unusual to find authorities accounting for the fantastic expressions of religion entirely by the influences of the frontier. This appears to me as a hasty conclusion. The frontier no doubt added a few peculiarities to the already established forms, but one does not find that these added momentum to the religious cause as a whole. Many writers have not infrequently over-emphasized the place of religion in the West. Indifference existed there as it did elsewhere. Even as late as 1810 Bond estimates that there were

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[26] *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Society, 1931,* 131.

[27] *Western Intelligencer,* Dec. 18, 1817; *Illinois Emigrant,* Mar. 6, 1819; John Mason Peck, *A New Guide for Emigrants* (Boston, 1836), 114ff; Elias P. Fordham, *Personal Narrative of Travels . . . and of a Residence in the Illinois Territory* (Cleveland, 1906), 125n, 126.

only about seven per cent of the people members of a church in the Northwest Territory.[28]

The religious revival, as it manifested itself in the western states during the early part of the nineteenth century, was a part of the religious revival that was abroad throughout the western world. Mysticism was very prevalent in Europe during that time; sects multiplied at a rapid speed—Shakers, New Lights, Dunkards, Anabaptists, Moravians and Wesleyanites—none of which were indigenous to the frontier for there was no frontier. German and English settlers who came west were members of many of these sects.[29] Let us examine the Illinois Methodist movement, since this denomination had by far the largest following during the period under discussion. The hierarchial system of this organization came from England and the seaboard states and we find that the West followed its forms perfectly. Three-fourths of the preachers who belonged to the Western Conference, which included the Illinois communities, began their work in southern states and they brought with them not only the doctrines of the church but hymn books and Bibles as well.[30] The camp meetings which have received so much attention in western literature were supposed to have had their birth in Kentucky by a James McGready of Pennsylvania. But this "extraordinary phenomenon" which was so often described with gusto, and as characteristic of frontier events, was not a western product; the Methodists in England who had sat under Whitefield's preaching had learned "to shout and leap" to express their emotions.[31] New Englanders too knew what it was to show feeling when Jonathan Edwards turned loose one of his philippics against Satan. The protracted phase of it might have originated in the West, but its duration was short-lived. The peculiarities of the revival did not on the whole become a part of the religious current; when the frontier conditions passed away it was usually found that most of the innovations were discarded. Sudden changes and violent departures usually do in time find their way back into the regular stream.

The Illinois Baptists followed more a frontier type of organization than did any denomination. Localism was strong among

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[28] Bond, *Civilization of the Old Northwest,* 491-92.
[29] Leyburn, *Frontier Folkways,* 201-09.
[30] Barnhart, "Southern Leadership of the Old Northwest," *Journal of Southern History,* I, 194.
[31] Leyburn, *Frontier Folkways,* 197-98.

them. Petty jealousies were frequent and individual "distresses" kept the small churches in hot water. By 1819 most of them had dwindled in membership to a low figure. But that year marked the turning point for them. John Mason Peck, one of Illinois' outstanding clergymen and educators, appeared on the scene. He fused new blood into these dying institutions. Born and educated in Connecticut, he came to the West as a Baptist missionary. His work in the state was of inestimable value.

Illinois Presbyterianism was probably influenced least by the western environment. From the very beginning its ministers were trained in theology and a few came from Scotland and England. Of the fifteen clergymen who came to the Illinois frontier between 1816 and 1836, fourteen were college graduates.[32] They brought with them to the raw country high standards of culture and many of these refined tastes carried over into the later religious developments of the state.

The Sunday School movement which was developed in England likewise came to the Territory. Rev. Thomas Lippincott, a New England missionary, organized the first school at Milton in 1819. By 1824 there were a total of thirty-five schools in the state with an enrollment of over a thousand.[33]

In closing this discussion on religion I might say that there is much evidence to show that human nature was just about as frail if not more so in the Illinois settlements as it was elsewhere. Moral standards were low and religious influences were none too potent even at the best.

Education fell to a low level in these Illinois settlements in spite of the terms of the Northwest Ordinance. The economic conditions naturally helped to retard the growth of schools and it was not until these were improved that education had a chance for growth. But an improvement of economic conditions, however, does not always carry with it an assurance of social and intellectual advance. There is such a thing as a "lag" with which we are even today so well acquainted. The western frontiersmen carried with them to their new homes the same motives as those that prevailed throughout the western world, namely, the thirst for economic gain and private acquisition. Therefore, it is to be

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[32] Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), 38-39, 92; *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Society*, 1913, 63-65.

[33] Christiana Holmes Tillson, *A Woman's Story of Pioneer Illinois* (Chicago, 1919), 10n.

expected that the things of the spirit were retarded. Education was given its greatest impetus in Illinois by the infiltration of a few leaders who had had the advantages of a better life. These leaders came from different parts of the world and from many walks of life. A few were professional teachers while others were ministers, editors, army officers, politicians and doctors. They met here on the prairies opposition to public education which had been in vogue in some form in a few of the older states.[34] Most of the settlers had been trained in the school of experience and anything beyond the triad—reading, writing, and arithmetic—was looked upon as an unnecessary luxury. To break down this opposition these early leaders organized seminaries, academies and even some night schools. We find advertisements in local papers by teachers who taught the whole gamut of subjects—from Hebrew to embroidery work.[35] A Frenchman advertised in 1814 that he had opened a French and English school for adults in St. Louis, and one was started in Belleville which afforded instruction in the practical arts such as mathematics, surveying and the like.[36] Timothy Flint began instructing students in the higher branches as early as 1816,[37] and John Mason Peck laid the foundations for higher education when he organized the Rock Spring Seminary in 1827. The Lebanon Seminary followed the next year and the Yale Band of preachers built the Illinois College in Jacksonville a year or so later.

Newspapers and other printed materials that circulated among the settlements aided much in molding their institutions. By 1826 there were five small local papers in the southern section of the state.[38] The contents of these four-sheet strips show very clearly how dependent they were on eastern papers and magazines. Long articles on agricultural subjects were often taken from them; excerpts were occasionally reprinted on the front page narrating some event in Europe and it was not unusual to find literary and poetical reprints from the works of Thomas Paine, Dr. Franklin

[34] Merle E. Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (New York, 1935), 26, 40-42, 46n.
[35] *Western Intelligencer*, Jan. 1, 1818; *Edwardsville Spectator*, Oct. 10, 1820.
[36] *Missouri Gazette*, May 7, 1814; Bond, *Civilization of the Old Northwest*, 426.
[37] *Missouri Gazette*, June 1, 1816.
[38] See F. W. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879* (Springfield, 1910), xxviii-xxix.

and others of like calibre.[39] Birkbeck and James Hall were contributors on such subjects as slavery, agriculture and politics.[40] Missionary sermons from eastern pens were not infrequently found among the other materials. Local news items never occupied much of the space. The editor of the *Missouri Gazette* wrote in his issue for December 11, 1813, that because of no eastern papers he was compelled to suspend publication and issue only a handbill giving the local news. The early editors of these news agencies were men of cosmopolitan experience. Joseph Charless of the *Missouri Gazette* was born and reared in Ireland; James Hall, publisher of the *Illinois Magazine* and a prominent literary figure of the West, was a New Englander; Ninian Edwards, Henry Eddy, Daniel Pope Cook and other prominent officials who had controlling interests in local papers were of eastern or southern origin. Cook had traveled abroad in his earlier days as a carrier of despatches. Eastern officials were often closely connected with the papers; for example, Calhoun wrote Edwards a letter requesting him to carry some favorable accounts to promote his presidential campaign.[41] Leading national papers as well as English journals were found in a few of the better homes.[42] Circuit riders were requested to disseminate church magazines among their constituents. With these facts in mind there is every reason to believe that the people of Illinois were familiar with outside conditions. However, some might discount the influence, especially of the local papers, due to their small circulation. It is true that their subscription lists were small but that does not tell the whole story. A single issue was usually read by a number of people; once it reached a community it never stopped moving until it had made the rounds. Travelers, hunters and missionaries all were pressed into the service of carrying papers. With the increase of population, circulation naturally increased. The best criterion to go by in determining the growth was the boom in postage collection during the period. Government records show that there was an increase of forty-three per cent in the western states during the early part of the nineteenth century.[43]

Books likewise found their way into these early homes. On

[39] *Missouri Gazette*, Aug. 10, 1808, Mar. 22, 1809; *Edwardsville Spectator*, July 11, 1820.
[40] Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals*, xxxiv-xxxvi.
[41] Ninian Edwards Manuscripts.
[42] Birkbeck, *Letters from Illinois*, 22; Fordham, *Personal Narrative*, 129.
[43] *Annual Report, Am. Hist. Assn., 1909*, 150n.

the shelves of large stores were those that had been imported from eastern cities; and, according to advertisements and invoices, one could find them written on almost any conceivable subject.[44] Libraries were organized in some of the enterprising villages; the books were contributed by those who had managed to bring some with them over the mountains.[45] Several of the prominent attorneys had good collections that were frequently made available to young men who aspired to become lawyers.

Debating and literary societies were organized; singing schools were established in a few communities settled by New Englanders and occasionally artisans banded themselves together in mechanical clubs. Traveling museums frequented the larger cities displaying paintings, wax models and new mechanical devices.[46] Birkbeck brought with him a number of cultural instruments hitherto unheard of in Illinois. One such instrument was a piano which caused a good deal of curiosity among his neighbors.[47] In St. Louis Governor Lewis erected a fine museum of his own private collections and this was accessible to the people of the American Bottom since many marketed their goods in that city.[48] The Masonic Lodge was first introduced into the state by John Edgar with a charter from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania and by 1822 there were eight additional chapters.[49]

The medical profession had a humble beginning; almost anyone of the settlers could practice "cures." Specialists eventually came westward when the economic conditions were improved and by their presence pressure was brought to bear on public opinion to raise the requirements and drive out the quacks and incompetents. Codes of other states were used as models for the licensing of doctors. Some of the best medical men during this period were the army surgeons who often found time from post duties to aid the civilians.[50]

In the matter of dress and styles the influence of the older

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[44] *Edwardsville Spectator,* Oct. 17, 1820.
[45] Flower, *History of the English Settlement,* 133.
[46] *Edwardsville Spectator,* Sept. 14, 1822.
[47] *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Society, 1911,* 44.
[48] Lewis C. Beck, *A Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Missouri* (Albany, 1823), 328.
[49] John C. Reynolds, *History of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons in Illinois* (1869), Appendix.
[50] *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXIII* (Jan. 1931), 630-41; Lucius H. Zeuch, *History of Medical Practice in Illinois* (Chicago, 1927), I, 20-75.

societies is quite marked. The first settlers because of their isolation had neither group consciousness nor pride to keep them from languoring into careless manners of dress. Uncleanliness was prevalent due in part to the tremendous shortage of wearing apparel. Skins of animals were universally used for clothing; formality was found only among the elite class—those with money and position. But with the arrival of greater numbers of better dressed people those with the older fashions of dress were stimulated to higher standards. Artisans furnished the necessary skill and foreigners were responsible for many of the new fabrics. According to Governor Ford's account, in 1830 a decided transition had taken place by that time. A few lines from his *History* will exhibit this change:[51] "The blue linsey hunting shirt [of the men] with red or white fringe, had given place to the cloth coat; the racoon skin cap . . . had been thrown aside for hats of wool or fur. Boots and shoes had supplanted the deer-skin moccasin, and the leather breeches . . . had disappeared. The female sex had made a still greater progress in dress. The old sort of cotton or woolen frocks . . . had given place to gowns of silks and calico. The feet before in a state of nudity, now charmed in shoes of calfskin or slippers of kid; and the head formerly unbonnetted . . . now displayed . . . forms of bonnets of straw, silk and leghorn."

Governor Ford's description of the transition in wearing apparel vivifies clearly what had taken place on every front in the frontier settlements of southern Illinois. The patterns established in this western community were modeled largely upon those long in existence in eastern and European states. It was a case of the older forms moving westward. Slight modifications were made to be sure due to the primitive environment, but on the whole the economic, social, political and cultural institutions were those of older established communities.

[51] P. 94; Fordham, *Personal Narrative*, 109; William Blane, *An Excursion Through the United States and Canada* (London, 1824), 258ff.

SOURCE MATERIAL IN THE TEACHING OF ILLINOIS HISTORY

By Nell Blythe Waldron

The teaching of Illinois history through the use of source material develops into a problem of increasing importance to anyone who sees students come into college with practically no intelligent understanding of the history of their state, and then sees them go out from college with no appreciable addition to that weak foundation.

This interest has led to conferences with experts in the fields of rural, elementary, and secondary education, and to an examination of state and city courses of study for the purpose of learning when and how much Illinois history is taught in the grades and high schools of the state. The evidence shows that the subject is very generally neglected.

The state course of study, although not officially such, does specify the minimum requirements for the entire state, excepting the city systems. According to the state course, the seventh grade, at the end of the first quarter's work in United States history, studies nine topics of Illinois history under the general title, "The French in Illinois;" at the end of the second quarter, eight topics under the title, "George Rogers Clark in Illinois;" at the end of the third quarter, six topics under "Illinois under the Ordinance of 1787;" and at the end of the fourth quarter, seven topics are included in "Illinois in the War of 1812."

The eighth grade continues with one unit of Illinois history at the end of each quarter—seven topics under the heading, "Illinois Admitted as a Free State;" nine on "Internal Improvement;" nine on the "Great Debates;" and eight on "Illinois in the Civil War."[1] And there Illinois history stops.

Students who have come up through the rural and small-town schools bear witness that usually there is no time at the end of these quarters for the study of state history. The course of study for Pike County, supplementary to the state course, requires one semester of Illinois history for the combined seventh

[1] *Illinois State Course of Study*, 7th General Revision, (Taylorville, Ill.), 238-41.

and eighth grades, with Church's *History of Illinois* as a textbook. This indicates a belief in the necessity for setting aside a definite time and place for the teaching of this subject.

A study of county examination questions in history for the seventh and eighth grades has given additional proof that the study of state history is not uniformly respected, nor is it generally held to be one of the more important subjects. The number and type of questions indicate wide variation from total neglect in some counties to a serious interest in others.

As to the city systems, the same situation prevails. On the one extreme, in the large majority of grade and high schools, practically nothing is done with Illinois history, while at the other extreme, in a few places, courses rich in content and interest are given, sometimes in alternation with a semester of civics. And in the middle are those teachers who, while teaching American history, emphasize at every opportunity Illinois history in the story of the nation.

By using, in college history classes, a questionnaire, the aim of which is to reveal how much, in what grades, and by what methods Illinois history has been taught below the college level one is soon impressed with the fact that only a negligible minority of the college students have ever studied anything that could be called Illinois history; and the method used seemed generally to be the deadly memorization of facts from a text. One may also discover from the questionnaire that a large majority of the students feel that they should have had the opportunity some place along the way to study the history of their state. This is especially true at Normal University. Most of the students who have answered the questionnaire whether in training for positions in the rural schools, the grade schools, or the high schools, have expressed the belief that every teacher-training institution in the state should include a course in Illinois history. These students realize that the real difficulty is that the rural, grade, and high school teachers have not been taught Illinois history, nor how to teach it. And we continue the vicious circle: so long as Illinois history is not included in the curricula of the teacher-training institutions—whether a liberal arts college or a teachers college—just so long will the product of our rural, grade, and high schools

be woefully ignorant of their state history, for a teacher inadequately prepared and with only a text book for inspiration can do little to stimulate an enthusiastic study in this field.

There are some bright spots, however. The work in LaSalle County under County Superintendent W. R. Foster is noteworthy. One publication, *Stories of Pioneer Days in LaSalle County,* written by the grammar grade pupils of the village and rural schools of that county, was a part of the Washington Bi-centennial in 1932. The pupils in collecting the material went to the sources, and then wrote articles which are rich in content and spirit. The emphasis is on LaSalle County, but in a sense it is a volume of Illinois history, and a glance through its pages reveals that the pupils of the LaSalle rural schools know the history of that county and much of the history of the state.

There is also a piece of work being done in the Bloomington City High School by Miss Louise Lange and Miss Julia Holder. Both are teaching American history; but in a very real, vital way they are teaching Illinois history—not through a text book or work book, but through the sources. In these classes there is a very close tie-up between national history, and state and local history. When the project was started, the objective was to develop in the students an appreciation for the work of the historian, but as these high school pupils have worked in the library of the McLean County Historical Society, digging out of the old *Pantagraphs* the living past, Bloomington's history has come to life and to those boys and girls, no longer is it peopled with ghostly shadows but with real men and women.

Mention should be made here of the essay contest sponsored, until recently, by the Illinois D. A. R. and the State Historical Society. On Illinois Day, December third of each year, a gold medal was presented to the student of the eighth grade or high school who wrote the best essay on a topic in Illinois history. The subject, selected by a committee of the two organizations, forced the pupils to use source material. Several of these prize-winning essays have been published in the society's *Transactions,* and show evidence of a steady improvement in technique and scholarship.

One responsibility which rests on those who train the future teachers is to help them to be able to make the proper adjustments in living in the communities in which they will be teachers.

This problem of becoming adjusted in a community to which the young teacher is a stranger may be difficult or comparatively easy, depending upon whether he or she has been given an understanding of the cultural and political development of the state. The study of a text book is not enough to give this understanding—it requires a study of history from the sources.

To help future teachers "to see that interesting, authentic material lies all about them and that they can study history at first hand"[2] the excursion may easily be adapted as a teaching technique.

Illinois is so rich in historic sites it is easy to understand why the excursion is so widely used here in the teaching of history. One has only to be in Springfield, on any Saturday during the spring or fall, to realize the number of students, from the rural schools and up to and including the colleges and universities, who are brought to this Lincoln center. Sites peculiarly sacred to Lincoln are easily accessible from practically all parts of the state. A trip to New Salem, to Lincoln's home and his tomb should be accomplished sometime in the school life of every student in the public school system in Illinois. Kaskaskia, Fort de Chartres, the Cahokia Mounds, and Starved Rock are easily reached from most parts of the state. In addition to those spots historically significant to the entire state, every community has the site of its first settlement, its first church or its first mill.

But it is not just the trip that is important. It is the preparation, the preparation of the mind and the spirit of the students, which enables them to appreciate to the full the significance of the experience. Fortunate is the college history teacher who has in one of his classes a young man who has charge of a Boy Scout troop, so that through him the boys who make the pilgrimage to New Salem and walk alone over Lincoln's way to Springfield may have the spiritual and the psychological preparation for that pilgrimage, as well as the historical preparation.

The administrative officers at Montclair, New Jersey, Teacher's College have a theory that for any teacher to understand the region in which he works, he must know its history; so that school offers three field-study courses covering the territory served by the graduates of that school. (a) During August of the even num-

[2] *State Course of Study*, 229.

bered years, the trip covers the historic spots of New England. (b) During August of the odd numbered years, the tour covers historic Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia. (c) Ten Saturday morning field trips include New York City and American Revolutionary War sites in New Jersey.[3]

A few years ago, Illinois State Normal University offered a fifteen-day tour of Illinois for geography and history credit. There is no question but that those students who took that tour are better teachers now because they have an understanding of the region in which they work.

The libraries in the state have—or have the opportunity of having—complete files of the *Collections, Transactions,* and *Journals* of the State Historical Society. But the *Collections* should be in the rural and small town schools. Here is an abundance of source material which every teacher of Illinois history should have at hand. This source material is adaptable for every grade, from the seventh on up through the university: for the French Period, volumes I, II, V, XXIII; for the British period, volumes X, XI; for the American Period, volumes VIII, XIX; and for the State period, III.[4]

These volumes may be considered the essentials in collected, printed source material for teaching Illinois history. But we may go beyond the necessities and include the diaries, memoirs, and letters of those early settlers which speak so vibrantly from the past, and which if not locally available may be borrowed from the State Historical Library. Every history teacher in the state should have a copy of *Suggested Readings in Illinois History,* compiled by Paul M. Angle. Not only is it possible to borrow the books, but teachers may obtain photostatic copies of pages of manuscripts and documents from the State Historical Library and the Archives Division of the State Library. Communities often contain privately-owned source material which the teacher may use. In an American history class for sophomores, the discussion one day was centered on the free-state struggle in Kan-

[3] *Department of Superintendents Yearbook, 1935,* 259.

[4] Vol. I. *Father Marquette*
II. *Cahokia Records*
V. *Kaskaskia Records*
XXIII. *French Foundations*
X. *The Critical Period*
XI. *The New Regime*
VIII. *George Rogers Clark Papers*
XIX. *George Rogers Clark Papers*
III. *Lincoln-Douglas Debates.*

sas. In the discussion the question arose as to whether the rest of the country was interested in the attacks and murders by the pro-slavery forces from Missouri, because the people who were killed were not important. The teacher read from a Kansas history a description of the Marias des Cygnes massacre. One name listed among the dead was John F. Campbell. The class was amazed to learn that he was the great-uncle of one of the students. This student brought to the class a Pennsylvania newspaper which contained the description of this massacre as told by an eye witness:

Murder of John J. Campbell

Kansas Territory, May 21, 1858.

It is with deep regret I announce to you the death of John F. Campbell one of the tried and best friends I ever had. One that was worthy of any confidence or trust, and when I think and say he was murdered in cold blood, it makes me, as it should make me, shudder. But he is not the only innocent man that has been cruelly murdered in Kansas. And when I say he was innocent, if I ever spoke truth, I do now.

He was murdered by a company of Missourians or Pro-slaveryans, that came in a band of about thirty horse, armed to the teeth, who marched to the trading post last Monday (17th of May), at 9 o'clock A. M. The leader of the squad ordering them to fall into ranks, stopping at the house and taking every man they could find, marching them on till they got some twenty or twenty-five they dismissed all but eleven, whom they took some two miles from where they dismissed the others, into a ravine, where they ordered them to form a line, when the Captain, C. C. Hamilton, gave orders to fire. They all fell, then their pockets were picked and the party left for Missouri.

They had discovered one or two breathing whilst picking pockets. A pistol was placed to the ear of one of these and fired, the ball passed out of his mouth, and he still lives. It is thought he may get well. But there are five dead, five wounded, and one escaped unhurt. He had dropped and appeared dead.

I cannot learn what they were killed for, but that they were free state men. Never knew one of them to have taken any part in the troubles or to harm any one.

Blairsville (Pa.) Record, June 9, 1858.

Nothing else could show quite so well that the Kansas struggle was a national struggle. Illinois, Indiana, and Pennsylvania people were interested in one young man whose only crime was that he was a free state man. Practically every community has its old letters and diaries and newspapers which have only to be found to be available to the teacher.

In a class in American history, on the senior college level, the teacher began several years ago to encourage the students to do some original research work in their own counties. The student is allowed to choose the county. The problem is to study the early settlements in the county from the standpoint of racial and cultural contributions. The aim is to make a racial and cultural map of Illinois. The students study the county histories, the newspaper files, the printed diaries, letters, and if possible talk to the old settlers still living in the county. Students of several years ago continue to send in material, which in itself justifies the procedure because it proves that those young people are interested in the history of their communities.

The newspaper files provide an abundance of source material in practically every community. Bloomington-Normal is particularly fortunate in the wealth of newspaper material preserved to the present time: the *Bloomington Observer and Advocate,* 1837-38; *The Western Whig,* 1846-51; *The Intelligencer,* 1852-53; *The Illinois Statesman,* 1858-63 and *The Pantagraph,* in unbroken files from 1853 to the present. An assignment, "Lincoln in Bloomington" or "Friends of Lincoln in Bloomington" to be worked out from the pages of the *Pantagraph* by a student who cares for nothing except athletics, who takes history because it is required, seldom fails to awaken an appreciation for history in general and a realization of Illinois history in particular. The responsibility of the history professor, especially in teacher-training institutions, is not only to those students who will teach history, but his real task is to reach each one in his classes so that whatever the student may teach, he will be a better teacher because he understands the region in which he lives and works. And this can be satisfactorily accomplished through a wise use of the newspaper as source material.

Teachers within reach of St. Louis and Chicago have the resources of the great museums of those cities to supply another

type of source material. But small local museums may supplement the library, provided the students are taught how to study in a museum.

Too often teachers fail to realize that in practically every community are persons who because of age and wealth of experience are qualified to furnish authentic information on many phases of state or local history. Bloomington high school students recently heard former Governor Fifer, now past ninety, speak on Lincoln. There can be little doubt but that these students caught an inspiration from his words they could not get from the printed page.

An article in a recent *Journal* of the N.E.A., "A Study of Fiction Writers in New Jersey,"[5] by Mary Shafto describes a project carried on by an eighth grade class in which the teacher's aim was to create a greater interest in all literature on the part of the children, and to have them able to talk intelligently about the contribution of their state in literature. Surely this was teaching New Jersey history. How many Illinois high school or college students can talk intelligently about the contribution of their state in literature? Certainly the cultural history of a state is as important as its political history.

The story of Dickens' visit to Illinois is known, at least in outline, especially in those communities he visited. Lebanon was one of the fortunate towns to offer him hospitality as he passed through on his way to see Looking Glass Prairie. Newcomers in the town are always told this story—but each informant puts the prairie in a different location. A history professor, newly arrived at Lebanon to teach at McKendree College, feeling compelled to know and finding that the students were also extremely vague as to the entire story of Dickens' visit to Illinois, made an assignment in *The American Notes.* Not only was the prairie located but the class got a vivid picture of life and social conditions in that area at that time. Other travelers have written much about the state. Source collections such as Hart's *American History as Told by Contemporaries* contain much material of this type on Illinois.[6]

And now, may we look into the future a little? A few of

[5] *Journal of the National Education Association,* May, 1936, 160.
[6] I should like to include *Readings in American History,* by James Alton James but it is out of print now.

the services which the State Historical Library and the State Archives Division render the teachers, such as the lending of books, photostating, and research work for persons unable to go to Springfield, are well known to all who use these services. But a new type of work of which we shall hear much later on is being developed. Under the Works Progress Administration, The Historical Records Survey, nation-wide in scope, with Dr. Luther H. Evans as National Director, Dr. Robert C. Binkley as Regional Director, Mr. Alston G. Field as State Director in Illinois, and an Advisory Committee for Illinois made up of Miss Margaret Norton, Superintendent of Archives; Secretary of State Hughes; Dr. Theodore C. Pease; and Dr. Herbert A. Kellar, is functioning in Illinois by making an inventory of historical material, to bring up-to-date the "Inventory" published in 1915, and by collecting this material so that it will be preserved for the future.

There is one phase of this work which will in a few years effect revolutionary methods in the teaching in Illinois of local and state history: that is, the microfilming of original materials now scattered in the counties of the state.

Much experimental work has been done in this field. Since 1928 the Library of Congress has had hundreds of thousands of pages of European manuscripts, relating to America, placed on film. In some cases where the use is expected to be extensive, the films have been copied on photograph paper; in other cases, the film has been kept and used in projectors when called for.[7]

Since November, 1934, libraries desiring to borrow books from the library of the Department of Agriculture have been receiving film copies instead of the original volumes. If the borrower has no projection machine, he is sent enlarged projection prints.

The *New York Herald-Tribune* is now on file in the New York Public library and Columbia University Library on films. Sometime during 1936, the *New York Times,* for the period of the World War, will be available on film at six-tenths of a cent a page.[8] Brown University is adding to the John Hay Library

[7] K. D. Metcalf, "Micro-copying on Photographic Film," *Library Journal,* January, 1936, 10.

[8] L. Bendikson, "Place of Photography in the Reproduction and Preservation of Source Material," *Library Journal,* September, 1934, 702.

film copies of rare books and manuscripts, of Lincolniana, of books and pamphlets unobtainable in any other way, of back copies of periodicals now unobtainable or too expensive.

It is said that films of letters, manuscripts, and other material can often be studied in detail more easily than can the originals because of the enlargement, because the photography brings out faded ink, even invisible ink. Another advantage of photography of sources is minimum storage space needed for films as compared with books, folios and other bulky items.[9] Fifty volumes of newspapers on film can be stored in the space required for one volume of the printed paper. A third advantage is that the valuable originals may be preserved in fireproof, air-cooled storage vaults, while the public, research workers, students, and writers handle the film copies.

Here in Illinois the work of micro-filming the sources is being carried on from the office of Miss Margaret Norton, State Archivist. The W.P.A. workers find the original materials in the counties (the twenty oldest counties will be surveyed first); then this original material may be photographed without being moved. When the new Archives Building is finished, there will be facilities for properly caring for any material the local communities will entrust to the keeping of the state. In this new Archives Building will be storage space for the films which will be made. As the material is photographed, the communities will be given duplicates of everything which they may turn over to the state.

What does this mean to the history teachers of the state? Direct service from the state archives and Historical Library to the local teachers, supplying them with the film or print copies of original Illinois historical material. Illinois State Normal University is now equipping its laboratory for visual education. It will have a camera to do micro-copying on film, but, more important, it will have a projection machine which will show the films which it will be able to obtain from the state archives. The projection machine is not necessary, however, as the material can be supplied in enlarged projection prints, which are much cheaper than photostats.

[9] *New York Times*, March 22, 1936.

Nothing quite so stimulating has ever happened before in the state and local history field as this project which is made possible by the combination of modern science, the national government, and the state archivist. Every history teacher will be benefited, from the local teacher in the grade schools to the university professor.

PART III

Contribution to State History

1936

NATHANIEL POPE, 1784–1850

A MEMOIR

By Paul M. Angle

Except for a few short paragraphs in biographical dictionaries, Nathaniel Pope is forgotten. Yet he inaugurated territorial government in Illinois and held a responsible position under that government; he secured the admission of the state to the Union; he served long and honorably as its representative on the federal judiciary; and as an official and a man he won and held the respect of his contemporaries. Certainly these were achievements of sufficient importance to justify a later generation in recording what he did, and what he was, before the faint reflections of his life have faded entirely.

I

Born in 1784, Nathaniel Pope was of the sixth generation of his family in America. Nearly a century and a half before his birth—in 1635, or possibly 1636—another Nathaniel Pope sailed from western England to the infant colony of Maryland. Establishing himself at St. Mary's, he quickly became a man of influence. Possessing capital, he exported the colonists' produce, imported their necessities, became the wealthiest man in the Hundred, and sat in the House of Burgesses for two terms.

All went well until the Kent Islanders revolted against the rule of the Calverts. In some way Pope became involved, or came under the suspicion of involvement. In any case, in 1647 he sold his St. Mary's home to the governor, and two years later established himself on Mattox Creek in the Appomattox section of Northumberland County, Virginia. Soon he was commissioned justice of the peace, and when the new county of Westmoreland was formed in 1653, he was given the same office under its government. Two years later he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the county militia.

In Virginia, as in Maryland, he attained wealth. Altogether, he owned more than 3,500 acres of Virginia land, including a tract called "The Cliffs" where stood the plantation on which

Robert E. Lee was born in 1807. At his death in 1660 he was the possessor of sixteen white indentured servants and a large amount of personal property. "Lieutenant Colonel Nathaniel Pope," wrote Charles Arthur Hoppin in his exhaustive volume, *The Washington Ancestry,* "was one of the few in whose hands rested the authority of local government, the power of the militia, and the social prestige of Westmoreland. He attained to that position entirely by his personal qualifications, not by inheritance or right of birth. Maryland and Virginia made him; and he did something not unimportant in the making of both colonies."

After Nathaniel, three generations of Popes lived and died in Virginia, residing for the most part in the counties bordering the Potomac. They were land-holders and men of position, yet little is known about them. One, a grandson of the first Nathaniel, was a lawyer, and served as King's attorney of Westmoreland County and clerk of Stafford. They were on good terms with the Washington family—related, in fact, through the marriage of Ann, a daughter of the original Nathaniel, to John Washington, great-grandfather of George Washington. But beyond occasional isolated facts, such as that the second Nathaniel obtained a patent to 1,050 acres on Holles Creek January 3, 1661, and transferred the same to John Wattson November 1, 1665, or that the third Nathaniel was appointed guardian of Nathaniel Washington in 1708, nothing is known.

Why, in view of the apparently comfortable situation of his forbears, William Pope, approaching middle age, married and the father of several children, should have decided to break with familiar places and try his fortune on the frontier is a mystery. Born in 1745, not many years after the birth of his distant relative, George Washington, in the house which had formerly belonged to his own great-great-grandfather, the early life of the father of Nathaniel Pope is vague and shadowy. Not much more can be said than that he lived in Prince William County, that in 1765 he married Penelope Edwards of Fauquier County, and that while still a resident of Virginia he served as a captain of militia in the Revolutionary army.

But whatever the motive which induced William Pope to emigrate to Kentucky, he was only one of thousands on whom similar compulsions operated. In the East optimists believed the

end of the war to be near. Burgoyne had surrendered in the autumn of 1777, and by the spring of the following year news of the alliance with France had reached America. In the West an intrepid young Virginian, George Rogers Clark, had struck a severe blow at British power, and had reduced the Indian menace at the same time, when he captured Kaskaskia and Vincennes in the summer of 1778. When the news of his conquests trickled backward, thousands took the trails for the fabulously fertile land beyond the Alleghenies. William Pope was one of these.

Four hundred miles from its junction with the Mississippi the smooth current of the Ohio roughens into a series of rapids. Long before the first settlements were made voyageurs and traders named the spot the Falls of the Ohio. Clark, familiar with the country, chose it as his base when he set out for the Illinois country in the month of June, 1778. On an island in the middle of the river—Corn Island—he built a block house, and there he stationed the twenty settlers and their families who had accompanied his expedition. Each family was to cultivate a crop of corn on the patch of ground he apportioned them.

The settlers remained on the island until autumn, when they harvested their corn and removed to the mainland for the winter. Others came, and before many months had elapsed, the town of Louisville was firmly established.

There William Pope settled. The exact date of his arrival is unknown, but he was present on April 24, 1779, when the settlers held a lottery for lots in the town. Almost at once he attained a position of prominence. The first task facing the settlers was that of securing title to the land which they had taken up. Nominally it was owned by John Connolly, formerly an agent of Lord Dunmore, Virginia's last royal governor. Connolly, however, had remained loyal to the mother country. Accordingly, on May 1, 1780, thirty-nine settlers, William Pope among them, petitioned the legislature of Virginia to confiscate his land, establish the town of Louisville on it, and confirm their titles to the lots they had drawn the preceding year. The legislature granted the petition, and declared one thousand acres owned by Connolly forfeited to the state. Titles were to be confirmed if the purchaser erected "a dwelling house, sixteen feet by twenty, at least, with a brick or stone chimney" within two years. Nine trustees were

appointed to lay out the town of Louisville One of the nine was Pope.

II

As soon as William Pope felt that he was permanently established at Louisville he sent for his wife. With her came three children: Penelope, John and William. (Two others had died in infancy.) On January 5, 1784, a sixth child was born, a son to whom the family name of Nathaniel was given.

The little family found itself in a rough, precarious environment. Everyone in the settlement lived in small log cabins with puncheon floors and unglazed windows. Furniture was of the simplest kind. Clothing was for protection only—buckskin breeches and coon-skin caps for men; linsey-woolsey for women. Settlers cultivated their crops in the small clearings adjacent to the stockade with rifles always close at hand, for the threat of Indian attack and massacre was ever-present. "Lie still and go to sleep or the Shawnee will catch you," were the words with which many a youngster was frightened into quiet.

Gradually, however, the Indian menace receded, for the wave of emigration surged unabated. It is said that as early as 1780 no less than three hundred boats, containing at least three thousand people, descended the Ohio to Louisville. When peace with England was declared in 1783 the population approximated 12,000; the following year it had mounted to 30,000. By 1792, when Kentucky was admitted to the Union, nearly 100,000 were living within its borders.

With this increase came some measure of civilization to the town of Louisville, although its population grew much less rapidly than one would suppose from its superior location. In 1785 it contained three hundred inhabitants; fifteen years later it could boast no more than six hundred. Nevertheless, the harsh conditions which prevailed in the first years of its existence were gradually ameliorated. Translucent skins in cabin windows gave way to glass, and then the cabins themselves yielded to frame and brick houses. With the coming of peace merchandise from the East appeared in the general stores. Local products—tobacco, beef, pork and corn—could be exchanged for nails and axes, calico and broadcloth, silks, bonnets, furniture, medicine, whiskey, sugar, tea, and even books.

There is evidence, however, that even at an early date, life in the Pope family was above the general level. For one thing, the father maintained his position of leadership. Upon the organization of Jefferson County he was made lieutenant-colonel of the county militia. Three years later, while serving as sheriff, he was ordered by the trustees to make a map of Louisville—which argues a certain amount of education. In 1785 he represented the county in the Virginia legislature, and for several years he held the commission of a justice of the peace. All that is known about him indicates that he merited the characterization which one of Kentucky's historians applied to him: "A leading citizen of the county until his death."

The inference is supported by what is known of Nathaniel's older brother John, who exerted a predominant influence over his life for several years. Born in Virginia in 1770, John Pope lost an arm while attending a corn-stalk mill. The injury turned his thoughts in the direction of an occupation in which the loss would not be a handicap. He chose the law, and prepared for it by attending a private school at Bardstown in which John Rowan and Felix Grundy were also students. He practised first at Shelbyville, where he soon became prominent as a lawyer and landowner, and where he began his political career by representing the county in the legislature.

Nathaniel Pope, like his older brother, attended private schools, among them that of the Rev. George Leach. According to one of Louisville's historians, the teacher was "a finished scholar and a man of high character and superior talents," who taught the classics as well as English studies. In addition, Nathaniel was to have the advantage of college attendance.

In 1798 Transylvania Seminary and Kentucky Academy united to form Transylvania University, located at Lexington. The *Kentucky Gazette* announced that a professor of law and politics, two professors of medicine and a teacher of French made up the faculty, but students were assured that Greek and Latin, mathematics, geography, belles-lettres "and every other branch of learning would be taught." Tuition was four pounds per annum, and for an additional payment of $2.50, "one half in advance," students might make restricted use of the library.

From this institution young Pope is said to have graduated,

but the list of graduates does not contain his name. All the existing records show is a receipt dated May 1, 1802, for "tuition from Mr. Pope." But from the fact that he became a reader of the classics and acquired an easy command of the French language, it would seem that he must have been in attendance for a considerable period.

For a school situated in a state where frontier conditions were still largely prevalent, Transylvania had much to offer its twenty-five or thirty students. By 1802 its faculty had grown from five to seven professors. Among them were men of note. A cultivated Frenchman who visited Lexington in that year was particularly impressed with Dr. Samuel Brown, Professor of Chemistry, Anatomy and Surgery. He found him receiving the English scientific journals regularly, and concluded that he would have attained high place in his profession wherever he might have chosen to practise it. James Brown, Professor of Law, under whom it may be presumed that Pope studied, was hardly less distinguished. A graduate of William and Mary, he had served as Kentucky's first secretary of state. Something of his calibre may be discerned from the fact that in later life he twice represented the state of Louisiana in the United States Senate and served for several years as Minister to France.

Aside from the educational facilities which Transylvania offered, life in Lexington had no little to give Nathaniel Pope. Its population—2,400 in the year 1800—was four times as large as that of Louisville. Two printing offices issued the *Kentucky Gazette* and the *Kentucky Herald*. The number of notable men who resided there, however, gave it its real distinction. In no profession were they more numerous than in the law. Henry Clay, John Breckenridge, United States Senator and Attorney General under Jefferson, and Joseph H. Daviess of Danville, the first Western lawyer to appear before the United States Supreme Court, attended court regularly in Fayette County. Others only less notable made up the finest bar beyond the Alleghenies.

Here, in November, 1803, came John Pope. The *Kentucky Gazette* carried his notice—a few lines to the effect that having removed to Lexington he would henceforth practise law in the General Court and in the circuit courts of Fayette and neighboring counties. To Nathaniel, his brother's advent meant an oppor-

tunity to supplement his college studies by practical work in a law office. He promptly took advantage of it, and spent his remaining months in Kentucky as a law student in Lexington.

Not long before John Pope's removal exciting news had reached Kentucky from Washington. The United States had purchased the vast territory of Louisiana from France, and President Jefferson had summoned Congress to meet in October to ratify the treaty. Weeks later Lexington learned that it had acted promptly. For a young man not afraid of hardship Louisiana under American rule offered an enticing prospect. A lawyer who could speak French should have no difficulty in securing enough clients to yield him a comfortable living, while the new states which would undoubtedly be formed from the province should afford more than sufficient opportunity for political position. Nathaniel Pope decided that there was no better place than this for a career.

III

On March 10, 1804, Meriwether Lewis took possession of Upper Louisiana in the name of the United States. Nine months later—on December 11—Justices Moses Austin, J. Guibord, Benjamin Strother, John Hawkins and François Vallé met at the house of Andrew Burt in Ste. Genevieve and organized the court of common pleas and quarter sessions for the district of the same name. Sometime prior to this date Nathaniel Pope had settled there, for he was present as an attorney. Unfortunately, there were no clients. Anticipating an uneventful session, the district attorney failed to put in an appearance, so William C. Carr was given the empty honor of prosecuting for the government. The court adopted plans for a jail, and then adjourned.

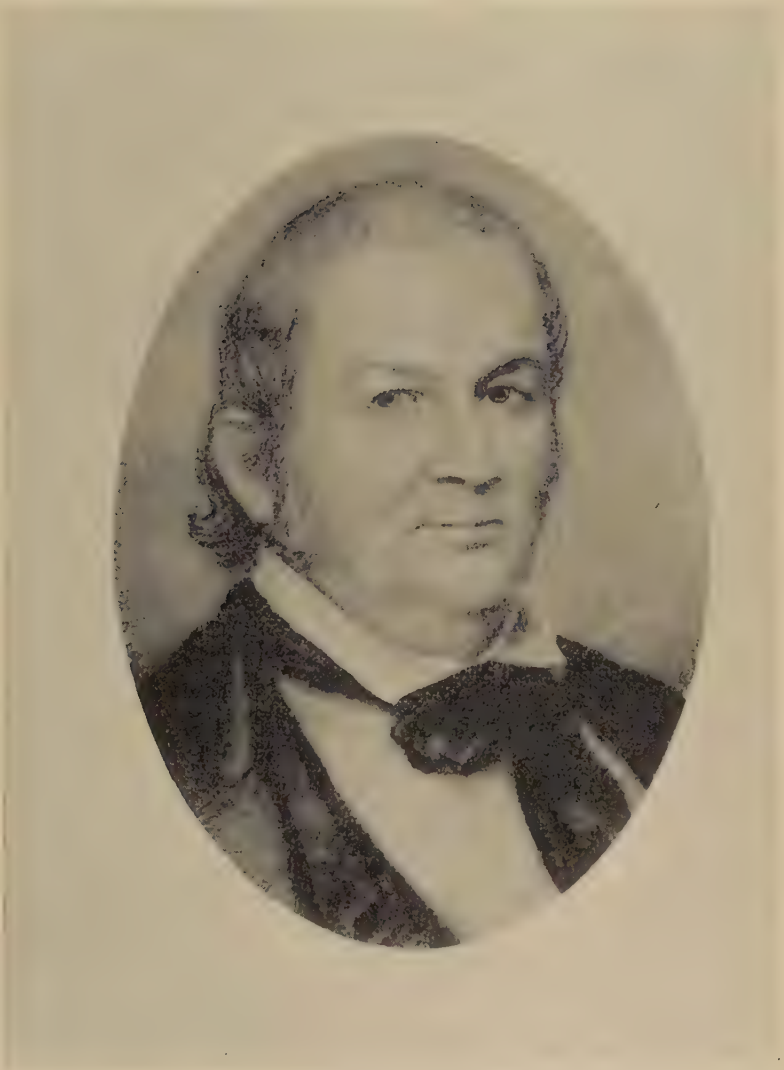
Three months later the first court for another district met at Cape Girardeau, seventy-five miles south of Ste. Genevieve, and again Pope was in attendance. For the next two years, as far as it is now possible to tell, he was to confine his practice to these two towns. At the first he practised alone, but soon after John Scott settled in Ste. Genevieve the two men formed a partnership. Two years older than Pope, Scott was a Virginian who had graduated from Princeton in 1802. He was a man of real capacity, and in a short time he and Pope stood at the head of the small

number of attorneys who attended the courts in the eastern part of Upper Louisiana.

From the time of his settlement in Louisiana until a few months before his appointment as Secretary of the Territory of Illinois, Nathaniel Pope lived in Ste. Genevieve. The town was situated on a level elevation about two miles from the Mississippi, and contained perhaps a thousand inhabitants while Pope lived there. With the exception of twenty-five or thirty Americans, and fifty or sixty Indians, all were of French descent. Nearby was the characteristic feature of all the western French villages, the common field—in this case a rich, unfenced prairie fifteen thousand acres in extent. Each inhabitant owned a tract here, the use of which was rigidly regulated by long-established custom. Within short distance were the mines—principally lead—and quarries on which the life of the village depended. Large quantities of lead were brought in to be sold and shipped, up the Ohio as far as Pittsburgh or down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Everyone, almost, worked in the mines. A blacksmith, a carpenter, a tailor, a few storekeepers, the priest and the Americans were the only exceptions.

It is our good fortune that a particularly observant traveler, Christian Schultz, visited Ste. Genevieve for several months in the winter of 1807-08 and wrote an extended account of his experience. From the pages of his book, *Travels on an Inland Voyage*, comes a vivid picture of the people with whom Nathaniel Pope lived for four years. Life moved at a rapid pace. Balls, lasting from candle-light until the morning of the next day, followed each other in quick succession. Gambling tables—billiards and *vingt-un* —were in almost continuous operation, with small fortunes frequently changing hands within a few hours. Everyone carried daggers, and occasionally used them. All, of course, were Catholics.

According to Schultz, relations between the French and Americans were not always cordial. "The French settlers throughout this country generally entertain a very bad opinion of the religion of the Americans," he wrote, "and even go so far as to say they have no religion at all. . . . They, however, entertain a very high opinion of our knowledge, spirit, and enterprise, and think we excel, in those points, all other nations. There is a small



NATHANIEL POPE

circle of Frenchmen, who, from a familiar intercourse with the Americans, have conquered both their local and religious prejudices, and may be considered as agreeable society, when absent from the card-table. These again are considered by the mass of good catholics as very little better than atheists, for doubting of the infallibility and holiness of their old mother church."

If Christian Schultz pictured correctly the feeling between the French and Americans at Ste. Genevieve, Nathaniel Pope must have been an exception, for apparently he enjoyed the respect of the community. When the inhabitants, in 1808, took steps to provide for advanced education by establishing the Ste. Genevieve Academy, he was selected as one of the twenty-one trustees. In the same year the board of trustees for the town of Ste. Genevieve chose him as their secretary, a position which he held until three months after his removal to Kaskaskia.

On August 31, 1808, Pope appeared before J. G. St. G. Beauvais, one of the five board members, and took the oath of office. His duties were not onerous and the scale of pay was good. He was to be present at each meeting of the board and to make four copies, two in English and two in French, of the ordinances adopted. For each day's attendance he was to receive $3.00, while such writing as he was required to do was to be compensated at the rate of 12½ cents for seventy-two words.

The first task of the town secretary was to transcribe the Ste. Genevieve slave code, adopted by the board of trustees on September 2, 1808. A stringent code it was, too. One wonders what the thoughts of the secretary were as he set down its provisions. From November 1 to April 1 slaves were forbidden to leave the house or cabin of their master after 8:00 P. M. except on the master's written permission, dated the same day; from April 1 to November 1 the curfew hour was 9:00 P. M. Twenty-five lashes was the penalty. Slaves found on the property of persons other than their masters were to be punished by ten lashes. Stripes at the discretion of the chairman of the board or the justice of the peace were to be given for "riots, routs, unlawful assemblies and seditious speeches by a slave." Assembling in streets either by day or night without written permission from one of the town trustees was to be punished by ten lashes. Inhabitants permitting "any nocturnal assemblies, dances or repasts of slaves" in their

dwellings were subject to a fine of $20.00 for each offense. And so it went.

On February 11, 1809, Pope resigned the position, and the following entry was made in the minute book: "Nathaniel Pope Clerk of the Board presented his account of services rendered the Corporation previous to the first of this month, which was accepted by the Board amounting to thirty three Dollars and sixty eight cents."

Two months earlier, he had become a resident of Kaskaskia across the river. Older even than Ste. Genevieve, the town had once been the most flourishing of all the French settlements on the upper Mississippi, but by the early years of the nineteenth century its population had shrunk to less than five hundred, and its trade had diminished in proportion. Nevertheless, there was much talk of creating a separate territory of Illinois, and when this took place Kaskaskia would be its seat. Growth was certain to follow. This prospect, reinforced by a personal reason, doubtless accounted for the removal.

Since 1807 Pope had been a regular attendant at the Kaskaskia courts. He had quickly gained a sizable, even if unremunerative, practice. The people seem to have had an excessive fondness for law suits, for they adjudicated neighborhood quarrels upon the slightest provocation and apparently preferred to pay their debts by court order rather than voluntarily. However, the amounts at issue were small. Even if they had been large, the lawyers would not have profited greatly, for fees were regulated by statute. In civil actions where land titles were not in question an attorney was permitted to charge $2.50; where titles were in question the fee was doubled. For verbal advice where a suit was not pending, $1.25 was the fee allowed; for written advice in a similiar situation $2.50 could be charged.

Practising at Kaskaskia were a number of other lawyers. Foremost among them were Pope's old partner, John Scott, Rufus Easton and Robert Robinson. Easton, ten years older than Pope, was a native of Connecticut who had practised at Rome, New York, before settling in the West. Through the influence of Aaron Burr, with whom he had been associated in politics, he had been appointed a judge of the General Court of Louisiana. Failing of reappointment, he secured the postmastership of St. Louis, a

position which he held during most of the years he attended court at Kaskaskia. Robert Robinson lived in Kaskaskia, and was one of the town trustees. Together with Pope, these men almost monopolized litigation. Their appearance, says Professor Francis S. Philbrick in a definitive study of the court records, "immediately changed the appearance of the Randolph records. Before them there was no pleading worth the name." Pope and Scott, in particular, "stood deservedly at the head of the bar in their day in Missouri and Illinois," said Governor Reynolds in an estimate which Professor Philbrick quotes with approval.

The preëminence of these two men was due in large part to the fact that they were 'book lawyers.' Both were college trained, and Pope at least did not permit his contacts with books to cease when he left Transylvania. While he was living in Ste. Genevieve one of the storekeepers got in a consignment which included such diverse titles as the "Surveyor's Assistant" and the "Merry Fellow's Companion," Murray's "English Grammar" and Volney's "Lectures." Pope made several purchases—Powell on Devises, which cost him $2.50, a Latin grammar for $.37½, Cicero's "Orations" and Phaedra's "Fables" for $.50 and $.25 respectively. In 1810, when the books of a Ste. Genevieve lawyer were sold on execution in Kaskaskia, he paid the large sum of $25.00 for the six volumes of Comyn's "Digest."

But it was not books alone that he was purchasing a short time before he settled in Kaskaskia. On the Ste. Genevieve storekeeper's account book appear the following items:

6	Pces Bobbin	.75
1	Water Pot	1.50
1	Lot of Glass	11.50
2	Framed Pictures	1.12½
2	Salt Scellors	3.50
½	Doz. Split Bottm Chairs	3.50
1	Lot of Tin Ware	6.00
4	Tumblers with handles	2.00
1	Flat Iron	.37½
1	Lot needles	.45
1	Snuffer	.12½

Obviously, he was preparing for marriage and the establishment of his own household.

About the same time that Nathaniel Pope settled in Ste. Genevieve, Lucretia Backus had come to Kaskaskia. Born in New London, Connecticut, in 1787, of a family which had been established in New England as early as the first Nathaniel Pope's settlement in Maryland, she had gone to live with her parents at Marietta, Ohio, when her father was appointed receiver of the land office there in 1800. For the next four years she attended the Moravian Seminary at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. During that time her mother died and her father, Elijah Backus, was appointed receiver of the land office at Kaskaskia, where he went to live with one of his sisters. Finishing her education, Lucretia, then sixteen, joined her father at Kaskaskia. There she met Nathaniel Pope. They were married on the 13th of December, 1808.

IV

Meanwhile, the movement for the creation of a separate territory of Illinois was moving toward its end. In December, 1808, petitions praying for a division of Indiana Territory, sent to Congress by the advocates of separation, were referred to a select committee. The committee quickly made a favorable report, and on February 9, 1809, the act establishing the Territory of Illinois was passed.

The sequel proved that John Pope, now a member of the United States Senate from Kentucky, was an interested observer of these proceedings. In spite of local opposition, he secured the appointment of Nathaniel Pope as secretary of the new territory within a month after its creation; and when John Boyle, first appointed governor, resigned his commission without ever qualifying for the office, Pope's influence, coupled with that of Henry Clay, was strong enough to secure the place for Ninian Edwards, chief justice of the Kentucky Court of Appeals and his own cousin and political lieutenant.

Nathaniel Pope's appointment bore the date of March 7, 1809. But it was not until April 25, when, presumably, he first learned of Boyle's resignation, that he took the oath of office. Having no way of knowing that only the day before, in far-away Washington, Edwards' appointment had been made, it was his duty under the law to assume the functions of governor and organize the territory. Accordingly, on the 28th, acting "by virtue of the powers

vested in the Governor, for the prevention of crimes and injuries and for the execution of process civil and criminal within the Territory," he issued his proclamation establishing the counties of St. Clair and Randolph with boundaries the same as under the Indiana territorial government, and issued commissions to two justices of the peace and one sheriff. For the next six weeks—until June 11, when Edwards took the oath of office—he continued to act as governor.

The responsibility was a heavy one for a young man twenty-five years of age. Ever since the appointment of William Henry Harrison as governor of the Indiana Territory in 1801, the Illinois villages had been torn by factional quarrels. On one side were the territorial officials and an influential group which the governor was able to hold together by the use of patronage; on the other, an opposition faction headed by John Edgar and William and Robert Morrison. Sometimes there were real issues between them. The governor's opponents disagreed with what they considered the ineffectiveness of his efforts to throw open the territory to slavery (on the desirability of which all were agreed), and they charged that an undue proportion of Illinois office-holders were appointed from the Indiana counties. Frequently, however, the feeling was so bitter that one faction opposed the measures of the other for no other reason than to cause political embarrassment.

Into the situation, bad enough as it stood, was injected a further cause of discord. In 1804 a land office was established at Kaskaskia, but government land was not to be opened for entry until existing French and British grants were confirmed. The register and receiver, Michael Jones and Elijah Backus, were empowered to act as commissioners to pass upon the validity of such claims. Their problem was a difficult one. For years French grants had passed from hand to hand at prices absurdly low. But when it became known that commissioners to validate claims had been appointed, everyone seemed fired with a passion for accumulating them. Violent speculation followed, and it was not long before the bounds of honesty and fair dealing were passed. Where money could not buy, fraud might succeed, so witnesses were suborned and titles created by affidavits compounded of perjury and greed. "Few who possessed the means to speculate could pride

themselves on having maintained an unimpeachable innocence," commented a careful, dispassionate student of the period.

Early in their investigation the suspicions of the commissioners were aroused. Thorough inquiry followed, and threatened to end in widespread exposure. Naturally, the bitter animosity of the speculators was aroused, for both property and honor were involved. More than once the lives of both Jones and Backus were threatened. Moreover, since both men were Harrison partisans, the strength of the Edgar-Morrison faction was thrown against them. Jones in particular became an object of such hatred that his banishment from the territory came to be one of the faction's major purposes.

Thus matters stood when an event occurred which stretched nerves and passions to the breaking point. A political quarrel between Rice Jones of the Edgar-Morrison group and Dr. James Dunlap of the Harrison faction passed to the stage of vituperation and threats of bodily injury; and finally, on December 7, 1808, Dunlap shot Jones to death in Kaskaskia. The murderer fled and was never arrested, but for months the Illinois villages were in turmoil. Michael Jones and Elijah Backus were both charged with having instigated the murder, and the anti-Harrison group made no secret of their determination to exterminate or banish the "murderous faction" from the territory.

This was the situation when Pope assumed office. So far as he knew, it might be necessary for him to act as governor indefinitely, so he immediately set about the business of governing in earnest, instead of confining himself to the barest essentials pending the arrival of his superior. Appointments were his first concern. On the day the existence of the territory was proclaimed he appointed James Gilbreath, one of the old Harrison faction, sheriff of Randolph County, and issued commissions to two other men as justices of the peace. Two militia commissions were issued on May 1 and two more on May 2, and on May 3 came an avalanche. Among the appointees were a number of men to whom the Edgar-Morrison faction was violently hostile—Elias Rector, made adjutant general of the territorial militia, Shadrach Bond, Jr., lieutenant-colonel, and William Biggs, justice of the peace. Three days later more appointments of the same stripe were made, among them that of Pierre Menard as lieutenant-colonel of the

Randolph militia, and Robert Robinson, major. On the 17th came the boldest stroke of all—the issuance of a commission as adjutant of the Randolph county militia to Michael Jones.

These appointments alone, coupled with the failure to recognize a single prominent leader of the opposition group, would have insured Pope the enmity of the faction led by Edgar and the Morrisons. As a matter of fact, he enjoyed that enmity before he took office, and made his appointments in accordance with it. He was the son-in-law of Elijah Backus, one of their hated enemies, and since his removal to Kaskaskia he had been in political alliance with Michael Jones. With this background, he could hardly have been expected to act otherwise.

The Morrison faction wasted no time in making known its attitude. Believing at first that Pope was to be appointed governor, they formally protested against the selection of one of that "murdering faction" whom they charged with the death of Rice Jones. Soon after he assumed office they took the position that since he had taken the oath before a Louisiana magistrate he was improperly qualified and without power to act—a move which caused the acting governor to seek the advice of the Secretary of State in "no little anxiety." Learning of Edwards' appointment they subsided temporarily, only to greet the governor upon his arrival with a remonstrance describing the Randolph County sheriff, whom Pope had appointed, as "an highly improper character," and with a plea that the secretary's appointments be set aside and only members of their faction be given places.

The result of all this was that in the six weeks during which Pope had acted as governor factional strife had continued as before, except that the old Harrison faction had transferred its allegiance to Pope, while the Edgar-Morrison group made him the object of attack. Edwards found the situation intolerable—a mixture of "personal animosities of the most rancorous and vindictive nature" which "had convulsed the whole society"—and determined to ally himself with neither party. Two weeks after he took office he set aside Pope's militia appointments—salving the secretary's pride by the public statement that in a similar emergency he would have acted in exactly the same way—and got around the troublesome problem by calling upon the militia regiments to elect their own officers and promising to appoint the victors. Pope took the

rebuff in such good spirit that John Pope, who had protested against Edwards' action, was able to write not long afterward that he was happy at the good feeling between the governor and the secretary.

From the beginning of his term of office, larger problems than the vagaries of factional politics were presented to Nathaniel Pope. Overshadowing all others was the Indian situation. In 1809 the Territory of Illinois included not only the present state but also the lands to the north as far as the Canadian boundary. The villages on the Mississippi were practically isolated. One hundred and fifty miles of prairie and woodland, practically uninhabited, separated them from Vincennes, while to the northward, almost unimpeded, roamed warlike tribes needing only organization and incentive to blot out the villagers.

Pope had no sooner taken office than reports of Indian unrest came to him, relayed by Meriwether Lewis, governor of Louisiana. From Detroit, Prairie du Chien and the Rock River valley came tidings of their restlessness, coupled with charges that British agents and traders were fomenting hostility by furnishing them with liquor, arms and ammunition. Within ten days after he assumed office, he decided upon a course of action. The first part of his plan was to summon the Kickapoo, a belligerent tribe of perhaps five hundred warriors who inhabited the region between the Wabash and the Illinois, to a council at Kaskaskia, and to try to secure also the attendance of the Shawnee and Delaware. Lewis, at St. Louis, commended the idea and offered every assistance, but apparently Edwards vetoed it upon his arrival, since no council was held.

It is evident, however, that Pope expected to gain no more than temporary peace in this way, for the second part of his plan was based on the confident expectation that war with Great Britain was only a matter of time. When it should come, Indian hostilities would come with it, and the only way to meet them was by energetic action at the earliest possible moment. The situation as he saw it was fully set forth in the following letter to the Secretary of War, given in full not only for its intrinsic historical importance, but also for the light it sheds on the temper of the man who wrote it.

Illinois Territory,
Kaskaskia, May 11th, 1809.

Sir:

As the Tranquillity of this Territory depends materially (perhaps more immediately than any part of the Union) upon the result of the deliberations of the next Congress, I beg leave to call your attention to it.

From the best information I could obtain since I have directed the affairs of this Territory, I am strongly led to believe that the British emissaries from Canada have been preparing for the Worst and in the Event of War with England will exert themselves to arm the Indians of the Mississippi and Lake Michigan and send them upon our Frontier.

They have been endeavouring to collect all the forgoing Indians at Detroit in this month. I can not imagine what can be the object of this convention, unless it is to effect a general combination against the United States.

The British Merchants have deposited at Prairie du Chien about ten or twelve thousands pounds of powder and an equivalent of Balls of various sizes suitable to the guns of the Indians. This ammunition will be immediately dealt out to the Indians, when war shall be proclaimed. If that resource can be cut off the Indians will not be able to do us any immediate injury. I therefore suggest the propriety of my having the Earliest possible advice of War, (if Declared) that I may seize upon all British property in my Territory, I mean such property as can be useful to the Indians in an attack upon us. This is the first considerable deposit of ammunition ever made at that place by the British. It seems however not to have attracted the notice of Mr. Boilvain Indian agent at that post; he must have seen it; yet does not mention it in any of his communications to the Governor of Louisiana Territory. This latter received it from a private individual and advised me to seize the lead & powder and have it deposited at fort Belle-vue and there detained until we should know unequivocally the dispositions of the Indians. But I did not think that circumstances justified such a rash and violent measure. General Clark, who is Indian Agent for several nations who would be benefited by a distribution of this ammunition, thought with me that it might be productive of many evils; it might facilitate the coalition between the different nations of Indians, so much desired by the British. Besides Boilvain having bestowed no attention on that fact (to wit of the Powder & Ball being there) I did not know that such a step ought to be taken upon the information of an Individual. In the event of War this Territory every foot of which may be

called a Frontier ought to be furnished with arms and ammunition; Lead can be had here; but powder is scarce. I cannot at this Moment state the strength of the Militia, no returns have as yet been made.

I am with high respect
Sir, Yr obt Sevt
Nat Pope

The Honble
William Eustis
Secy of War
City of Washington

With the arrival of Ninian Edwards in the territory and his assumption of the governor's office on June 11, Pope commenced to perform the more limited duties of territorial secretary. As legally defined, these duties were neither extensive nor of large responsibility. "To keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his executive department; and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings, every six months, to the secretary of Congress" was all the statutes had to offer concerning his position. The salary, for the secretary of Illinois, was $1,000 annually.

A curious interchange of letters between Pope and Albert Gallatin, Treasurer of the United States, reveals graphically the rudimentary state of the government set up in Illinois, and indeed, by the very fact that Gallatin found time to take part in it, the simplicity of the national government also. On May 11, 1809, Pope submitted a claim for $9.47—office rent from March 7 to March 31 at the rate of $12.00 per month. "I wish to deal candidly with you," he wrote to Gallatin in explanation. "I have lived in a house belonging to my wife's father, who certainly would never have charged me any rent. But if a friend should furnish the Secretary with an office for nothing, it being a personal favor, it is no argument against his charging the Government a reasonable price for the occupation of it. I submit to you to allow or reject my claim."

A month later the Treasurer of the United States objected—not to the principle but to the amount. "Forty dollars per annum is considered as the highest sum which ought to be allowed for the rent of an office," he wrote. Impossible, Pope answered. "I state to you that I cannot procure a suitable room for less than Sixty Dollars per annum, suppose that I make an office

of a Room in my own house, with whom am I to make a Bargain and from whom to take a receipt? Yet would you refuse to allow me for office Rent? I am sure you would not. I could wish that you would satisfy yourself as to the usual price of Rooms of that description and let me have a credit for so much every quarter . . . Now Sir with respect to my charge of $12.00 per month for office Rent I beg leave to remark that at the time I made my return I was ignorant of the object of the appropriation for office Rent. I advised with Gentlemen better acquainted with such affairs than myself, they thought that it amounted to house Rent for the Secretary, as I was not convinced I determined to try the principle by forwarding the account to the 31st of March knowing that if the appropriation did not embrace the Charge that you could correct it. It seems to me that the Secretary ought to have two Rooms—one to lodge in and the other for the public papers of his office. In a Country where Society is very rude and the buildings indifferent it is improper that the public Papers should be exposed, by being left in a house in [which] no one lodged. If I am entitled to two Rooms sixty Dollars would not be sufficient. The foregoing are suggestions for your consideration. But I assure you that forty Dollars are entirely inadequate to the object." Gallatin accepted the modified figure of $60 for office rent, but refused to allow it to be charged prior to April 1, since Pope could not have received his commission before that time. The secretary acquiesced, explaining that he thought himself as much entitled to office rent as to his salary prior to the receipt of his commission.

Vouchers for expenses which Pope submitted to the Treasury help to show how severely limited an affair was territorial government in Illinois. For the first three months of the territory's existence they totalled $50.00 and covered the following items and amounts:

1 Ream foolscap paper	$ 8.50
1 Ream Letter paper	8.50
Printing 100 blank militia commissions	5.00
Printing 60 blank civil commissions	3.00
1 Blank Book	10.00
3 Months Rent	15.00

For the second quarter—July, August and September—only $32.20 was required to keep the government in operation:

2 oz. wafers	$ 1.50
Printing 1 quire civil commissions	2.50
Printing 1 quire militia commissions	2.50
Quills, ink, powder & sealing wax	3.50
13 Quires paper	5.20
Office rent	15.00

The annual appropriation of $350 for territorial expenses seems to have been an unwarranted extravagance!

After remaining in the territory for two months, Edwards returned to Kentucky on private business, again entrusting the government to Pope, who was just recovering from an attack of fever which had kept him confined for a month. This time, in the governor's absence, the secretary acted strictly as his deputy. The executive register contains only three entries—the first, on August 24, noting the issuance of a warrant for the arrest of a criminal wanted by the governor of Louisiana Territory; the second on September 9 recording the filing of a letter from Edwards removing two justices of the peace from office; the last, on September 22, appointing two others in their places.

For three years internal affairs in the Illinois country moved with a greater degree of tranquillity than its turbulent background might seem to have warranted. Settlers came in increasing number—a development which aided Edwards in his determination to steer clear of the factions which had kept the territory in turmoil. But always in the background, and becoming more ominous with each passing month, was the shadow of war and Indian outrage. Thefts of cattle and attacks on isolated farms became more frequent. In the fall of 1811 came Harrison's bloody clash with the Shawnee at Tippecanoe. Western resentment at what was believed to be British responsibility for Indian unrest now found an ally in the hostility aroused in the East by controversies over the rights of the United States on the seas. On June 18, 1812, came the declaration of war which Pope had looked forward to three years earlier.

During the first months of the war the defense of the Illinois villages was left entirely to the inhabitants. Governor Edwards' commission as militia commander had just expired, and the government had made no authorization for militia expenses, but he

assumed responsibility without hesitation, raised several companies of mounted volunteers and paid them himself. With these troops the frontier was patrolled from Vincennes to the Mississippi. Fort Russell was erected near the present city of Edwardsville, and a chain of blockhouses built to cover the outlying settlements.

These measures, however, were primarily defensive. Soon the settlers demanded more than that, especially after the massacre of the garrison of Fort Dearborn. To the north, near the small French settlement at Peoria, were Potawatomi, Kickapoo and Miami villages. In these the people of the territory saw the source of all their troubles. Edwards determined to destroy them. By October he had mustered two regiments of militia at Fort Russell. At his urgent request Pope agreed to serve as paymaster of the detachment, and was made first aide on the governor's staff.

On the 18th of October, 1812, the army—four hundred strong and all mounted—started northward. Passing the site of the present town of Carlinville, and crossing the Sangamon near Springfield, they paused only long enough to destroy two Kickapoo villages which they found in the vicinity. Soon they were encamped a few miles from Peoria, and close by a village of Miami and Kickapoo at the head of Peoria Lake. Coming within sight, the militia rushed forward in an uncontrollable mob. The Indians fled in confusion. Pursuers killed twenty-five or thirty, but most escaped. Not a militiaman was lost.

At Peoria Edwards had expected to meet a force of Kentuckians from Vincennes. Not being able to learn anything of them, he burned the Indian towns and started back to Fort Russell, arriving there on October 31, just thirteen days after the expedition started. Salutes from cannon from old Fort Chartres and much bombastic oratory welcomed the victorious volunteers.

This expedition was Pope's only direct participation in Indian warfare. Indeed, in the following spring the national government, in order better to manage operations, formed a military district of the territories of Illinois, Indiana, Missouri and Michigan, and placed William Henry Harrison in command. Illinois and Missouri were made a sub-district under General Benjamin Howard. Ninian Edwards was superseded. Chagrined at the slight, he turned over the government of the territory to the secretary, returned to Kentucky, and seriously considered resigning his office.

From late June until early December Pope was in charge. For several months his activities were restricted to ordinary governmental routine. In November, however, an important duty devolved on him. Eighteen months earlier Illinois had advanced to the second grade of territorial government—a change which transferred legislative power from the governor and judges to a legislature composed of an elective council and house of representatives. On November 15, 1813, the legislature met at Kaskaskia for its second session. It was up to Pope to make the executive recommendations.

His message opened with a paragraph reminiscent of an eighteenth century Virginia gentleman. "The absence of the Governor," he informed the legislators, "imposes on me the important and delicate task of discharging the executive duties of the Territory—a task upon which I enter with the utmost diffidence, arising from a conviction that I am unequal to a satisfactory discharge of those functions. The Citizens of the Territory have reason to regret that their interests are confided to such feeble hands; but they may be assured that my best exertions will be employed to promote their prosperity. I however derive much confidence from the hope that you will extend to me at all times your candid and cordial cooperation and assistance. Emboldened by this hope I will proceed with cheerfulness to my duty."

A resumé of the Indian situation followed. "The General Government having taken from the Governor of the Territory the command of the forces employed in its defense and that important trust confided to an officer not instructed to communicate with the Governor, I can officially know nothing of the state of our relations with the Indians on our Borders. It is sufficient to say that I have heard of no late depredations committed by them within this Territory. The most salutary effects are anticipated from the Fort lately built at Peoria under the order of Brig. Genl. Howard who is entrusted [with] the protection of our Frontier.

"The last advices from Canada authorize a belief that Michillimacanac and St. Josephs are in the hands of the U. States, if it be true the communication between Quebec and the Indians of the Mississippi and Illinois is completely intercepted, consequently all the supplies they may hereafter receive must be under the control of the United States. Then and not till then can we ex-

pect permanent peace and tranquillity with our restless neighbors. Then dependence upon us absolutely will be sufficient security for their good behavior. We cannot at the same time expect that a people whose whole notions are military, who despise 'the dull pursuits of civil life' and whose only road to honor, influence and power is war will all at once abandon a pursuit which they have been educated to admire and to excel in. No, such a hope would be absurd. If war they will let them fight among themselves without our interference."

The acting governor's specific recommendations were few in number. Modification of the law concerning the court of chancery, abolition of the office of brigade major and inspector, and a salary for the adjutant general were suggested, while the attention of the legislators was directed to the general subject of the territorial revenue. Notice was also given that a writ of election to fill a vacancy in the house of representatives had been issued.

For the most part, however, it seemed to Pope that an attitude of self-restraint was the one most fitting at the time. "It is not thought that any important changes are necessary in our code of Laws," he informed the lawmakers; "some slight amendments in some of the details may be found necessary; but the expense and delay of publishing our Laws suggests very strongly the propriety of letting them remain as they are unless radically defective. Our present code has been deliberately revised and corrected and is pretty generally known and from practice understood by your constituents. In all new Laws many doubts and uncertainties exist and before they are tested and construed by frequent applications to cases upon which they were intended to operate very erroneous opinions are formed upon them."

The message concluded with some pithy advice as to the spirit in which a legislature should approach its work. "Harmony in your deliberations and unanimity in your councils is greatly to be desired," said Pope. "Confidence in the integrity of each other will promote this end and keep the demon of discord from among you. Your interests are identified and whatever conduces to the prosperity of one section of the Territory will have a corresponding effect upon the balance of it. Let no one arrogate to himself more patriotism than he is willing to allow his colleagues and let every one be governed more by a desire to promote the public good

than to enhance his own popularity. Then and not until then will you deserve well of your Country."

Three days later Pope sent a supplementary message to the legislature. "I submit to you," he wrote, "the propriety of passing a Law to restrain the inhabitants from trading with and selling whiskey to Indians. This practice has occasioned great inconvenience and loss to the Citizens of the Territory, for the Indians resort to stealing to procure the means of supplying themselves with ardent spirits, knowing that the whites will purchase from them anything they can lay their hands on. This practice is as immoral as it is troublesome. It is not uncommon for an Indian to sell a horse worth from twenty to thirty dollars for three or four Gallons of Whiskey.—Frequent applications have been made to the Executive to stop this practice, but the Executive can find no adequate power."

On the 20th the house of representatives replied to Pope's message in an address marked by courtesy and respect. "They are sensible of the importance of the public trust which has devolved on you in the absence of the Govr.," the members acknowledged, "but have the utmost confidence in you that the public interest will not want attention while its Govt, is entrusted to your care . . . The subjects recommended by you will receive the earliest consideration in the H. R. and be assured, Sr. that it shall be our constant aim to promote the public interest, however short our deliberations may fall of that object."

Laws carrying out Pope's recommendations were promptly passed. The general court was given chancery powers, the office of brigade major and inspector was abolished, the adjutant general was voted $100 a year, and the sale of intoxicants to Indians was prohibited under a fine of from $5.00 to $20.00 for each offense. That part of the message which recommended a short session seems not to have been so welcome, however, for the legislature remained in session almost a month and turned out a substantial number of enactments.

Although the immediate direction of military affairs in Illinois had been taken from the territorial officers, they continued to be intensely interested in the Indian situation. Attacks upon outlying settlements continued, and Illinois militiamen participated in several expeditions against British and Indian strong-

holds to the north. Nevertheless, it was never possible to extend American control much beyond the present latitude of Peoria and Warsaw on the Mississippi. Since this was not sufficient to remove the danger, hope for a conclusive campaign was ever entertained. On October 20, 1814, Pope urged Benjamin Stephenson, the territorial delegate, to "press upon Mr. Monroe the absolute necessity of a campaign against the Indians of the Mississippi, Illinois & Lake Michigan next Spring." When Col. William Russell had arrived on the Mississippi a few weeks earlier an expedition to the Illinois or farther seemed in prospect, but now Russell was sick, and the chance was gone. "I determined to join him in any capacity even as a private," Pope confessed. "All is quiet with us now," he added, "but much is feared from the Indians about the first of next month *viz* after the full of the moon."

Two months after this letter was written peace between Great Britain and the United States was concluded at Ghent. Word that the war was over brought relief to the inhabitants of the Illinois country, although it was some time before sporadic disturbances entirely ceased.

Pope's term of service as secretary of Illinois Territory was now nearing its close. An important undertaking was still before him, however. No little confusion was caused by the fact that the laws of the territory had never been brought together in an authoritative compilation. The legislature contracted with Pope to remedy the situation. As a result, on June 2, 1815, there appeared from the press of Mathew Duncan at Kaskaskia the *Laws of the Territory of Illinois, Revised and Digested under the Authority of the Legislature, by Nathaniel Pope.* Familiarly known as "Pope's Digest," the work enjoys the double distinction of being the first comprehensive collection of Illinois laws and the first book printed in the state.

V

On May 22, 1816, the *Western Intelligencer* of Kaskaskia, the only newspaper in the territory, announced the candidacies of two men for delegate to Congress—Russell E. Heacock and Nathaniel Pope. The editors gave Pope unqualified endorsement.

> As a man of talents it is known that he stands preeminent. As a man of virtue and integrity (his bitterest enemies if he have any) admit him to be unstained and ever free from re-

proach. As a friend of his country his every act bears testimony. Who then it may be asked can the people of this Territory better select as their representative in the national Legislature? From such a man indeed the people would have a right to expect all that could be done by any man.

But he has also been an officer of our Territorial Government for about six years, and a part of that time he has acted as chief magistrate (a situation well fit to try his fidelity) and during that period we believe no man has ever been heard to say that he has not faithfully and satisfactorily discharged his duty. He is well known to the administration as a man of this character and consequently will carry with him that weight of character which almost every other member would have to acquire, by slow proofs of his virtue which is necessary to ensure success to the delegate. His mind is also unbiased by party prejudices; for it is well known that he has always stood aloof from those party disputes which have so frequently disturbed the repose of the Territory. The general interest would therefore be more likely to be his polar star in the discharge of his duties, than any man whose mind has been warped by local and party prejudices.

Heacock attempted to counteract this eulogy in a circular to the voters. "I do not think that, because a man is rich, he has the greater claim to any office," he asserted, "nor do I think a man the more entitled for having been loaded with territorial, or any other commissions, nor for that he has long been a public servant, unless he can show that he has been a good one." The voters, however, were unimpressed. Early in June Daniel Pope Cook wrote that Pope's election would be almost unanimous—"there will be no opposition even of a respectable description." Ten days later Shadrach Bond made a similar prediction, and the summer moved on in a political calm which seemed to indicate that Pope would be chosen as a matter of course.

Then, on the eve of the election, the storm broke. The occasion was an attack on Rufus Easton, Missouri's territorial delegate, which soon involved Pope and forced him to defend himself.

On December 16, 1811, one of the most severe earthquakes in the history of the United States struck the town of New Madrid in the Territory of Missouri. For three weeks the earth was in almost constant tremor. On January 7, 1812, another major quake occurred. Thereafter there were slight disturbances for many weeks.

New Madrid had once been a flourishing town, but by 1811 only a few families resided there, and the total value of their property was small. However, the village was almost entirely demolished, and the plight of the inhabitants aroused widespread sympathy, with the result that in 1815 Congress passed an act permitting the sufferers to give up their land holdings in return for certificates allowing them to locate on other public lands. Now, with the election soon to take place, it was charged that Easton had gone to Washington with the intention of securing the passage of the act, and had arranged with William Russell, a surveyor and land speculator, to purchase claims at a discount before the people should know what was on foot. Together they would divide the profits.

At the time this accusation was made public Russell was in the southern part of Missouri Territory. Upon his return he made a sweeping denial, brought forward statements of friends and associates to prove his innocence, and charged Pope and John Scott with at least partial responsibility for its circulation. "If ever Mr. Pope authorized this statement to be made," he wrote in a handbill dated September 2, 1816, "in order to aid his friend Scott in their joint or several plans, (the present depth or darkness of which I don't pretend to know,) it would not be his first attempt to injure me, by his *positive* assertions to maintain, the *most wicked* of falsehoods for a truth, which *proved to me* beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the line of truth was not *his* stopping place, in places where *his pecuniary interest,* or cuningly [*sic*] wicked designs required the reverse."

Not content with denial, Russell went on to charge Pope and Scott with misconduct of their own. "If they have not, by the *strength of each other's testimony,*" he asserted, *"recovered two thousand dollars each,* (in the whole four thousand dollars) out of the estate of Joseph Mitchells *orphan* child, without any reasonable equivalent or good consideration, they are wronged by the opinions of those who profess to be acquainted with the circumstances.—Their making *large sums* of money in this *easy way,* may well enable them to give a better price for New Madrid lands, *lead mines or salt springs,* or to acquire more shares in a fur company, than me (or others who *get their money by industry*) would be able to pay."

Five days before Russell's publication was issued Pope put his own defence in print. Sometime earlier a friend of Russell had pressed the same charge against Scott, and accused and accuser had agreed to submit the matter to five arbitrators. Pope simply published their finding—signed statements by four of the arbitrators and a verbal assertion by the fifth that the conduct of Scott and Pope in the Mitchell case was above reproach and their compensation reasonable.

Besides denying the charge against him, Pope made his handbill the medium for a final statement of his platform. "I aspire to the honor of representing the free people of Illinois territory in congress," he wrote, "and in that body bear testimony to their patriotism, bravery and suffering, and call upon the general government to do justice to those who have been so much injured by the unaccountable delay in their pay for services . . . I should indeed take pride in showing the world what the sons of Illinois have done to protect an extensive and weak frontier, and then reproach the nation with its conduct towards them. I have other objects; I wish to promote the prosperity and encourage the emigration to this territory: in order to succeed in these objects, I shall endeavour to get the Indian title extinguished to all the land within the limits that are to be the permanent boundaries of this (will be) state, and especially the lands on this side [of] the Illinois river, including the Sanguemon country, and get it all in the market as soon as possible. Instead of being concerned, as has been insinuated, with a company to buy the United States' Saline, (which I deny) I would oppose such a sale with the most determined zeal. I entertained a hope to be able to prevail on the general government to lay out the money arising from the rents of the U. States' Saline, in improvements in the territory, such as opening roads, building bridges &c. in the different parts of the territory. Other things might be done beneficial to the territory, for example, the lands reserved for schools and a seminary, might be placed under some regulations that would make them yield in a short time an income that might be laid out to promote education &c."—A detailed statement, and yet it omitted the one purpose which, when achieved, was to make Pope's term as delegate memorable—the admission of Illinois to the Union.

At the election, held on September 5, Pope won by a large

majority. In the late autumn of 1816, he started for Washington. As a delegate, he enjoyed all the privileges of a Congressman except the most important one, that of voting. In reality he was the Washington agent of his constituents, charged with the duty of securing favorable legislation, warding off inimical acts, transacting business at the departments and performing personal favors and errands. Sentences from a series of letters written by Josiah Meigs, commissioner of the general land office, in January and February, 1817, show the manner in which much of a western delegate's time was spent. "I return the memorial in favor of Mr. Blue. Whether the President has authority to lease a part of the Reservation for Salines as a tavern stand, is doubtful . . ." "A certificate of confirmation in favor of George Lanceford arrived this day from Kaskaskia . . ." "The papers relative to Mr. Hay's claims in Illinois Territory shall have due attention in proper time . . ." And so forth.

Arriving in Washington, Pope took lodgings at Davis's Hotel, located on Pennsylvania Avenue near Sixth Street. On December 2 he took his seat in the old Brick Capitol. Presiding over the House of Representatives was Henry Clay, while among the other notables in that body were Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun and John Tyler. For the first weeks of the session Pope's old law partner, John Scott, was present as Missouri's delegate, but an election contest caused the House to vacate his seat early in January, 1817.

Seventeen days after taking his seat Pope took the floor for the first time to move the adoption of the following resolution: "Resolved, that the Committee on Foreign Relations be instructed to inquire into the expediency of excluding foreigners from trading with the Indians residing within the limits of the United States." Forsyth of Georgia suggested that this object had been accomplished by an act passed at the last session. (The act to which he referred provided that licenses to trade with the Indians should not be granted to any but citizens of the United States except by express direction of the President.) Pope replied that in his opinion foreigners should be entirely excluded. Such a course, he said, "would relieve the Indians from their present dependence upon the British traders, the ill effects of which were at present very evident." The suggestion was then made that the

resolution be referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs instead of the Committee on Foreign Relations, to which Pope assented. Again Forsyth interposed, this time with the suggestion that Pope define his object more clearly, specifying the particular part of the existing law he wished modified. Pope answered that he not only wished "to repeal the dispensing proviso to the act of last session," but intended "that the committee should also recommend such measures as would insure a due and certain execution of the other provisions of the law in question." Whereupon the resolution was passed—and that was all that ever came of it.

Six weeks later, on January 30, 1817, he took the floor for the second and last time during the session. In the absence of a delegate from Missouri, Pope offered four resolutions relating to the ownership of the batture between St. Louis and the Mississippi and to preëmption rights in Missouri. At his request the resolutions were referred to the Committee on Public Lands, where they died. More than a year later the identical resolutions were again introduced, this time by Missouri's own delegate.

No less prosaic were Pope's duties outside of Congress. During the session he initiated only one project of public interest. Henry Eddy, a young lawyer, and Peter Kimmel, printer, both of Pittsburgh, wanted to start a newspaper in Illinois, but there was small hope of success unless they could secure the privilege of printing the federal laws. Pope appealed to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, on their behalf. The negotiations dragged on for over a year. Finally, in February, 1818, the authority was granted, and Eddy and Kimmel loaded their press on a flatboat and floated down the Ohio to Shawneetown, where they founded the *Illinois Emigrant,* the second paper published in the territory.

With the close of the session Pope returned to Kaskaskia, where he remained until fall. Then, in September, the *Intelligencer* announced that "Nathl. Pope our delegate for the territory will leave this place for the city of Washington on or about the 10th of next month—those who may have any business to transact at the city are desired to call on him before that time." This time Mrs. Pope and the children accompanied him as far as Louisville, where they remained during the session. The stop-over in Kentucky, coupled with bad weather and bad roads, delayed his arrival in Washington until the first week in December.

On the 8th of December, 1817, Pope took his seat. Almost at once he addressed his constituents through the medium of the *Western Intelligencer*. "It is inferred that the President is in favor of raising the price of public lands," he wrote in some consternation, "but it is hoped that no such measure will be adopted—indeed I will oppose it with all my strength. It would check emigration and might have the effect of postponing our admission into the union. A resolution has been introduced to exempt from taxation for five years, the military bounty lands—I hope no further steps will be taken on it. It would enable speculators to hold up their lands from market, and prevent the territory from taxing three and a half million acres of land, and most of that belonging to individuals, who obtained it at less than fifty cents per acre."

Shortly after the session opened Pope had an opportunity to intervene in a unique project which promised to add a considerable number of settlers—always a cherished end—to Illinois. Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, two idealistic Englishmen of education and wealth, were planning to establish a colony of their countrymen in the United States under conditions which would permit full development of natural capacities, unrestricted by Old World impediments. After examining many sites, they picked on one in southeastern Illinois. Birkbeck purchased large tracts, but did not have the funds to secure a sufficiency. Fearing that speculators would follow his lead, and by raising prices defeat the project, he appealed to Pope to aid him by obtaining from the government an extension of the time of payment.

On December 14 Pope acknowledged the receipt of Birkbeck's letter and petition. "I am so much flattered," he wrote, "with your selection of the Illinois Territory as your permanent residence in the prospect of the permanent advantages it may derive from your experience in the arts of Husbandry, that I cannot fail to indulge in an ardent wish that you may succeed in your plan." There was likely to be no little difficulty, however, in getting any scheme of this sort through Congress. The members were obsessed with the fear of speculation. "The bounty and liberality of the Government," Pope went on to explain, "has been so often diverted from the intended objects, that members of Congress are diffident in supporting applications of the nature of yours as they have no personal knowledge of you. I regret that your arrange-

ments did not comprehend a visit to this place at this time as personal explanations might have advanced your plan, which seems to me replete with important advantages to the Territory, and well calculated to advance the happiness of the human family upon a more extended scale than appears from a limited consideration of its operation."

Birkbeck promptly answered Pope's letter, explaining what he had in mind in more detail. However, neither he nor Flower could give the project the personal attention without which success was hopeless. As a result nothing ever came of the government grant, although much was to be heard in the future of the English Colony of Illinois.

Early in the session Pope had an opportunity to aid in procuring an act of justice when Pierre Menard, then an Indian agent, informed him that the Piankeshaw had never received an annuity of $1,000 which should have been paid in 1812, and asked him to aid in having this sum sent to them as soon as possible. Perhaps Menard's letter reminded him of one that he himself had written four years earlier to Benjamin Stephenson, then territorial delegate. On that occasion it was the Kaskaskia who were suffering from government neglect. Pope had pictured their "wretched and starving condition," and had urged Stephenson to secure the payment of their annuity as an act of justice and humanity. But whether he remembered his own appeal or not, he took a hand in the matter so effectively that before the end of the session he was able to inform Menard that although the matter had given him "a good deal of trouble" he had received the Secretary of War's promise that the annuity would be paid.

While Nathaniel Pope was thus going about the ordinary duties of his office, a movement was in progress in Illinois which was to gain for him a permanent place in the state's history. Two days after he took his seat the legislature of Illinois laid before Governor Edwards a memorial to Congress praying that the territory be admitted to the Union as a state.

The memorial was the direct result of the activity of Daniel Pope Cook, Pope's nephew. Cook had settled in Illinois while Pope was territorial secretary and had studied law under his direction. In 1816, when he was only twenty years old, Edwards had appointed him auditor of public accounts. About the same time

he acquired an interest in the territory's only newspaper. Early in the following year he went to Washington, and from there he was sent to London as a bearer of despatches. Returning in September, he sought a political opening in Washington, but not finding a suitable one, he returned to Kaskaskia.

All indications are that Cook inaugurated the movement for statehood as the most likely means of creating a political career for himself. Certain it is that there had been no sentiment for immediate admission when Pope left for Washington in October, and that the step was first urged in the *Western Intelligencer* two days after Cook reached Kaskaskia on November 18, 1817. The paper's next issue contained a lengthy argument on the benefits of statehood, written by Cook over the signature of "A Republican." It was hardly likely, he admitted, that the territory contained the population—60,000—which under the ordinance would have entitled it to statehood, but it surely contained 40,000, and that had been sufficient for other states.

Three days after this communication was published on November 27 the legislature convened at Kaskaskia. On December 2 Governor Edwards delivered a message in which he forecast statehood for the territory and recommended that as a preliminary the legislature provide for a census to be taken and laid before it at the next session. This procedure, however, was too slow for the members. On the day the governor's message was received the house resolved that a memorial praying for statehood be drafted. On December 6 the memorial was adopted by the house; four days later it was approved by the council and sent to Edwards for his signature.

From this point the fate of the memorial depended upon Nathaniel Pope. Presumably the memorial was sent to him as soon as it received the governor's signature, for on January 16, 1818, he laid it before the House of Representatives. It was immediately referred to a select committee of which he was chairman. Five days later he summed up the situation in a letter to the *Intelligencer*. "I shall report this day a bill for the admission of the Illinois Territory into the Union, as an independent state," he wrote. "The only difficulty I have to overcome is, whether we have the population supposed by the Legislature; no enumeration of the inhabitants having lately been taken. In order to evade that

objection the bill contains a *proviso,* that the census shall be taken previously to the meeting of the Convention—I hope however to have that feature of the bill struck out before its final passage, if it passes at all, of which I have strong hopes . . . If it were certain that we had even thirty-five thousand inhabitants, no objection I think would be made to our admission. I had prepared a resolution to protect from waste the school lands, but if the law passes to admit the Territory to form a state government that matter will be under the control of the legislature of the State. I have therefore forborne to offer the resolution . . ."

On January 23, instead of the 21st, Pope reported his bill to enable the people of Illinois to form a constitution and state government. As soon as it was printed he sent a copy to the *Intelligencer.* "You will remark," he wrote to the editors, "that the northern line is ten miles north of the southernly extremity of Lake Michigan—Indiana goes as far north. When the bill is taken up, I will endeavor to procure twenty or thirty miles farther north, and make Lake Michigan a part of our eastern boundary. I shall not attempt to explain the importance of such an accession of territory; it is obvious to every man who looks to the prospective weight and influence of the state of Illinois.

"It will also be observed," he added, "that I have provided for a representation for but twelve counties. The simple reason is this. I have not heard whether any other counties have been created by the legislature at the last session. If however any new counties be created and notice of it be given to me in time, I can offer an amendment to embrace the new counties."

Over two months were to elapse before the enabling act was taken up for consideration. Pope waited impatiently but hopefully. Late in February he wrote that he hoped it would be considered early in March, and that he was "not without sanguine expectations of its success." On the 8th of March he informed Edwards that "the question of Roads and Canals continues to engage the attention of Congress. My prospects of success in making Illinois a state are not diminished. Nothing certain however can be calculated on." Not until April 4 did the bill come before the House.

At once Pope rose to propose two amendments. The first concerned the boundary. In the bill as reported, the northern

boundary was to be "an east and west line drawn through a point ten miles north of the southern extreme of Lake Michigan." Although this was ten miles beyond the line established by the ordinance of 1787—that is, a line through the southern tip of Lake Michigan—Pope was impressed with the advantage of extending the limits of the new state still farther. Accordingly he proposed that the line of forty-two degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, which was about forty-one miles north of the boundary set by the bill, be taken as the northern boundary.

He proceeded to support the amendment with an argument notable for breadth of vision. "The object of this amendment, Mr. P. said"—so runs the only report of his remarks—"was to gain, for the proposed State, a coast on Lake Michigan. This would afford additional security to the perpetuity of the Union, inasmuch as the State would thereby be connected with the States of Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, through the Lakes. The facility of opening a canal between Lake Michigan and the Illinois river, said Mr. P., is acknowledged by every one who has visited the place. Giving to the proposed State the port of Chicago, (embraced in the proposed limits,) will draw its attention to the opening of the communication between the Illinois river and that place, and the improvement of that harbor. It was believed, he said, upon good authority, that the line of separation between Indiana and Illinois would strike Lake Michigan south of Chicago, and not pass west of it, as had been supposed by some geographers who had favored us with maps of that country; and, Mr. P. added, that all the country north of the proposed State, and bounded by Lakes Michigan, Huron, Superior, and of the Woods, and the Mississippi river, must form but one State, Congress being restricted, by the ordinance of 1787, from erecting more than five States in the Northwest Territory."

The second amendment also bore the mark of a statesman. As in previous enabling acts, the reported bill provided that five per cent of the net proceeds of federal land sales in Illinois should be used for the development of roads and canals. Pope proposed to amend this section by providing that only two per cent should be used for this purpose, the remaining three per cent "to be appropriated by the Legislature of the State for the encouragement of learning, of which one [sixth] part shall be exclusively bestowed

on a college or university." In explanation he said "that the fund proposed to be applied for the encouragement of learning had, in the other new States, been devoted to roads; but its application had, it was believed, not been productive of the good anticipated; on the contrary, it had been exhausted on local and neighborhood objects, by its distribution among the counties, according to their respective representation in the Legislature. The importance of education in a Republic, he said, was universally acknowledged; and that no immediate aid could be derived in new counties from waste lands was not less obvious; and that no active fund would be provided in a new State, the history of the Western States too clearly proved. In addition to this, Mr. P. said, nature had left little to be done in the proposed State of Illinois, in order to have the finest roads in the world. Besides, roads would be made by the inhabitants as they became useful, because the benefits are immediate; but not so with endowments to schools. The effects of these institutions were too remote. Nor would the interest of the United States be impaired by this plan. The land on the roads was generally private property before the opening of the road; and the benefit resulting to the United States from the stipulation would be found alone in the exemption from taxation, for five years, of lands sold in the State."

Both amendments were passed without a division. A few others of minor importance were received, whereupon the bill passed unanimously.

On April 14 the Senate also passed the bill, adding some unimportant amendments in which the House concurred at once. The next day Pope reported his success to his constituents in an enthusiastic letter. "Some jealousy was felt against our gaining so much territory north, say sixty miles," he wrote,—"but the bill passed. We may say with truth, that we will enter upon a state government with better prospects than any state ever did.—The best soil in the world, a mild climate, a large state, with the most ample funds to educate every child in the state; however poor, a man may well hope to see his child rise to the head of this mighty nation, if he have talents and virtue. Our avenues for navigation are towards the east and the west, the north and the south."

Several months later, a constitution for Illinois was laid before the House of Representatives and admission as a state re-

quested. But in this, the final step in the movement, Nathaniel Pope was to have no part. On February 21, 1818, in a letter which was printed in the *Intelligencer* two months later, he announced his determination to retire from public life. "I should have made known my intention of declining long ago," he added, "but I feared that the knowledge of it here would lessen my capability of serving the territory during the remainder of the term of my service." "We are assured by gentlemen of intelligence," the editors commented, "that Mr. Pope stands high with the administration, and were he to continue in the political corps of his country, and particularly of this territory, we have no doubt but he would be highly useful. It is to men of his firmness and abilities that we are always to look for our political welfare."

There is nothing to show that Pope took any part in the campaign for the constitutional convention which agitated Illinois in the spring and early summer of 1818. Indeed, the election of delegates was only three weeks off when he and his family reached Kaskaskia on the 15th of June, and most of the intervening time he spent in putting private affairs in shape and in completing transactions which he had undertaken in Washington for friends and constituents.

Nevertheless, Pope had no little interest in the convention which met at Kaskaskia early in August to frame a constitution for Illinois. Like most of his fellow citizens, he had been speculating in land ever since he had settled in the territory. Here was an opportunity for a major stroke. The object of his concern became evident on August 18, when one of the delegates laid before the convention a number of proposals from owners of prospective capital sites. Among them was one from Pope relative to Pope's Bluff, a tract on the Kaskaskia River in the southeastern tip of Bond County. Two days later there was lively manoeuvering on the question of the location of the capital, but resolution after resolution, each providing for a different site—Pope's Bluff among them —was voted down. The next day the matter was settled, temporarily at least, by a compromise. Kaskaskia was to remain the capital for the time being, but the first general assembly was instructed to petition Congress for the right to preëmpt four sections on the Kaskaskia River, and if successful in the appeal, to lay out

Territorial Capitol and First State House, Kaskaskia

a town on the grant. Otherwise the legislators were to locate the capital where they thought best.

Although disappointed for the time being, Pope still hoped for success. On August 24 he submitted an amended proposal. If Pope's Bluff should be selected he promised to donate "a handsome public Square for the capital, at least four acres for a penitentiary, at least one acre for the Governor's house and one block of lots for the Great State College." Two days later, however, the convention adjourned without having reconsidered the capital question.

Adjournment, which marked the successful completion of the convention's work, was the occasion for celebration in the old town of Kaskaskia. A military company, in uniform, drew up before the little capitol, and the citizens gathered behind the soldiers. Ninian Edwards, Joseph B. Phillips, territorial secretary, Pope and other prominent men looked on while a field piece fired twenty rounds in honor of the newly adopted constitution.

Meanwhile, Pope had changed his mind about retiring from public life. Perhaps, when he announced his retirement, he had plans for an appointive office which failed to materialize; perhaps he felt that as a member of the legislature he might be in better position to engineer the location of the capital at Pope's Bluff. At any rate, the *Illinois Intelligencer* for August 19 announced that he was a candidate for the House of Representatives. Three others entered the contest for the two seats assigned to Randolph County. On the whole it was an apathetic contest, and one with a strange result so far as Pope was concerned. Although he enjoyed the prestige of having guided the state's admission to the Union, he found himself defeated by two men hardly known to politics. Worse than that, the returns showed that out of a total of 775 votes, only 175 were cast for him.

Apparently he was to live the life of a private citizen whether he wished to or not. But not for long. Early in October the register of the land office at Edwardsville died. On November 9—which must have been almost as soon as the news reached Washington—the commissioner of the general land office notified Pope of his appointment to the place, and asked that he qualify at once by taking the oath of office and executing a bond for $10,000. Public announcement of his appointment was made on December

9; on the 16th he opened the office, which had been closed since his predecessor's death.

For four and a half months Pope performed the prosaic duties of his new position. However, the fact that he never removed his family from Kaskaskia indicates that he looked upon it merely as a stop-gap. One of the first acts of the new legislature, which met early in October, 1818, had been to elect Ninian Edwards United States Senator, and it is probable that he left for Washington intent upon securing a first-class office for his cousin and political associate. Whatever the explanation, on March 26, 1819, John Quincy Adams forwarded to Pope a commission as United States judge for the district of Illinois. Six weeks later he turned over the books of the Edwardsville land office to Edward Coles and started for Kaskaskia and his family.

VI

Henceforward Nathaniel Pope's life was to move in a straight line, in spite of the fact that he tried to change its course more than once. For the first nineteen of his thirty years on the bench he was to be the sole representative of the federal judiciary in Illinois. It was not an arduous task. Although the entire state was his district, its population was relatively small. Moreover, the agricultural character of the commonwealth, together with the fact that land titles were derived directly from the United States, eliminated much of the litigation with which federal judges sitting in older communities were burdened. Congress anticipated the likelihood that the district court of Illinois would have little to do, and conferred upon it the powers of the circuit court as well as those with which it was endowed by law. Not until 1837 was a judge of the United States Supreme Court assigned to circuit duty in Illinois.

Pope held his first court at Kaskaskia in December, 1819. "Owing to the recent organization of the court, there is not much business before it," commented the *Illinois Intelligencer*. The following spring—two sessions a year were provided for—court convened again. This time it met at Vandalia, the new capital then being built on the grant secured from Congress. Here, for the next eighteen years, Pope was to journey twice a year, hold court for a few days, and return to Kaskaskia.

The new capital city commenced its career with high hopes. "Vandalia. . . . is improving rapidly," wrote a correspondent of the *Edwardsville Spectator* at the time the first United States court was held there. "The hall of the state-house is up, and will shortly be completed. There are many other large and spacious buildings going on, some brick as well as frame; and it is expected that the accomodations for members of the next legislature, as well as visiters [*sic*], will be very good, as there are several houses preparing for their reception. . . . Several of the officers of the state government are moving their families, and the society will soon become good." But this was a premature prediction, for in spite of the small boom which marked its first year, the town never really flourished. Its population grew slowly, building lagged, and society never quite became 'good.'

But Vandalia's failure to fulfill the hopes of its founders could hardly have made much difference to Nathaniel Pope. It was a rare court session which lasted more than three days. Ordinarily court convened on Monday and adjourned the following Wednesday, the docket completely cleared. Illinois, in the 1820's and '30's, was without the complexity of social and commercial organization which gives rise to a heavy volume of litigation. Moreover, for several years many causes which might have found their way to the United States court were held in abeyance by reason of a defect in the law regulating the issuance of process in suits at common law. Even after that was remedied, there was little for Pope to do. As late as 1834 the *Vandalia Whig* was reporting that the United States court met on Monday and adjourned Wednesday morning; "little business was before it."

Six years after Nathaniel Pope's death the records of his court were removed to Chicago, where every scrap was destroyed in the great fire of 1871. Before the holocaust, however, three volumes of transcripts covering a few limited classes of litigation were made and sent to Springfield. From these, and occasional newspaper notices of cases of especial interest, the story of his years on the bench must be pieced together.

From the latter source we learn of the trial, in May, 1821, of two Indians for the murder of two United States soldiers stationed at Fort Armstrong on Rock Island. A column and a half in the *Illinois Intelligencer* of Vandalia was devoted to a report of the

case—a rare occurence in the journalism of a century ago. The soldiers were shot from ambush within a mile of the fort, and the guilt of the two murderers was established by the testimony of a third Indian who had been with them at the time of the assault. Pope sentenced them to death by hanging. The presence of an aged chief of the tribe at the trial gave it a dramatic character. After sentence was passed the chief came forward and addressed the court in a few pathetic sentences in which he sorrowfully compared the waning power of his own race with the strength of the white children of the Great Father. "When I came down here," he concluded, "I had hoped to find that Che-wa-cha-ra and Who-rah-jin-ka had been better treated, but my heart is oppressed at the cruelty that they have received. I did hope that pity would have been found for them, and that mercy would be shown them. But let peace be between us."

For the most part, the cases which the transcripts disclose were more prosaic but no less accurate reflections of frontier conditions. Merchants of Philadelphia and other commercial cities often brought suit for the collection of promissory notes given by frontier storekeepers—graphic demonstration of the West's dependence upon the East for capital. The isolation of the frontier, and its moral laxity also, are revealed by the federal government's prosecution of dishonest officers. So frequent were suits against defaulting postmasters, saline agents, army commissaries, marshals, land office receivers and their bondsmen, that one is tempted to believe that dishonesty in office was the rule rather than the exception.

Occasional cases demonstrated other attitudes of a new community. In 1824, for example, the United States charged William Skinner with felling 5000 trees on government land, and brought suit for damages in the amount of $1000. The jury found the defendant guilty, and assessed the plaintiff's damages at $12.50! A case tried in the following year was even more illuminating. In 1822, the record recites, a citizen of Virginia sold to a citizen of Illinois "a certain negro man named George," who was indentured to serve until August 1, 1824, when he was to be manumitted. In order that the manumission should be carried out, the seller bound the purchaser, under a bond of $1000, not to remove the negro from St. Louis nor to sell him to anyone who should remove him from that city or its immediate neighborhood. But, so the plain-

tiff charged, within a year the negro was sold and removed in violation of the bond, and therefore damages in the amount of $1500 were sought. The jury found the defendant guilty as charged—and awarded the plaintiff $7.00!

With Pope's official position making few demands upon him, it is not surprising that for a number of years he continued to take part in politics. For ten years he had been an active politician, and had formed habits of thought and action difficult to break.

During the territorial period the old factional alliances between the supporters and opponents of William Henry Harrison, which Ninian Edwards had observed with so much dismay when he assumed the governorship, had gradually disappeared. In the course of time, however, other party groupings developed. As before, there was no division along the lines of political principle, for all professed to be followers of the doctrines of Thomas Jefferson. Instead, factions formed for the sole purpose of securing office. At the time of the state's admission one such group of officers-holders and aspirants recognized the leadership of Ninian Edwards, while another fraction contested the claims of the Edwards following to supremacy. The result, as John Reynolds put it, was a bitter, never-ending struggle between the "ins and the outs."

Allied to Edwards both by position and relationship, Pope was one of the faction's leaders, and he continued to act as such for a number of years after his appointment as judge. In the summer of 1819 he took an active part in the campaign of another Edwards lieutenant—his own nephew, Daniel Pope Cook—for Congress. Describing the activities of his opponents, Cook informed Edwards that "Mr. Pope is all alive on the subject, since they avow a determination to break down the party, as they call it, and prove its feebleness before the people."

Three years later the part which Pope played in the important campaign for governor may have been decisive. This time there was more than an office at stake. Ever since the admission of the state there had been on foot a strong movement to legalize slavery. The difficulty of securing laborers and domestic servants was turning the thoughts of a populace largely southern in origin to the labor system of the slave states; and further impetus was given to the movement by the fact that wealthy southerners, emi-

grating westward, were showing a marked preference for the slave state of Missouri instead of Illinois. In 1822 the first test of strength came between the pro-slavery forces and their opponents.

There were four candidates for governor. Three were avowedly anti-slavery; the fourth, Joseph Phillips, favored the legalization of the institution in Illinois. The danger was, of course, that the anti-slavery vote would be so badly split that Phillips would be elected. It was a possible result which Pope, though long a slaveholder, was determined to prevent. Accordingly, he attempted to rally the Edwards faction in support of Thomas C. Browne, one of the other candidates, but without success. He then tried another tack. Prominent among the candidates was Edward Coles, a "stiff little Virginia aristocrat" whom he personally disliked. Still, Coles had some following, and he was an ardent opponent of slavery. His chances for success in the campaign, however, were greatly diminished by the opposition of Hooper Warren, editor of the *Edwardsville Spectator,* who also disliked him personally. Pope, seeing in Coles the only candidate by whom Phillips could be beaten, undertook to convert Warren.

Years after the campaign Warren described what happened. "In the spring of 1822," he wrote, "four months before the election, Judge Pope came up to Edwardsville from Kaskaskia; and, calling upon me, he remarked with much earnestness, 'If you do not want Phillips elected, you must let Coles alone.' And he went on to demonstrate that such was the fact. I had supposed that every vote I could take from Coles would go to Browne or Moore. But the Judge showed conclusively that the prospect of Phillips was rising rapidly, and that of Coles as fast declining." Accordingly, Warren ceased his attacks, and Coles was elected. With what was probably an excess of confidence in the power of his paper, Warren declared that Coles owed his election "to the call of Judge Pope upon me, in his behalf—a man who did not care any more for him than I did." Granting the over-statement, it may at least be said that the incident proves Pope's sincerity in the slavery contest, and reveals his willingness to sacrifice personal and political considerations to keep Illinois a free state.

Pope's next venture into politics was on his own behalf, and in a field far removed from Illinois. At Washington there had long been dissatisfaction with the Supreme Court of the United

States, arising both from the conservative views of a majority of the seven members, and from the fact that the judges had not been assigned to circuit duty in several of the western districts. Various measures intended to 'rectify' the situation had been proposed, but all had failed of passage. Late in 1825, however, a judiciary bill was introduced which seemed certain to become law. It provided for an increase in the membership of the court from seven to ten, and for the incorporation of the western districts in the circuit court system. It was generally agreed that a western candidate would be chosen for the western circuit.

Early in 1826 Pope let it be known that he was a candidate for one of three additional judgeships. At first sight, his chances were good. John Quincy Adams, the President, had married a sister of John Pope's wife, and entertained a friendly feeling for Nathaniel. Moreover, in the House of Representatives Daniel Pope Cook had cast his vote for Adams, and had suffered at the hands of his constituents for his 'defection.' William Wirt, Attorney General, had long been a friend of his family.

To those on the ground, however, Pope's chances were doubtful. "The Judiciary Bill will pass," Cook wrote to Edwards from Washington on January 28, 1826, "and I now am inclined to think that Pope's chance to be Judge is not very good." Soon afterward Pope went to Washington himself. "Pope is here working away for the Judgeship," Cook wrote early in March, "but everything is in a state of uncertainty."

By that time the situation had been complicated by the death of Thomas Todd, one of the judges of the Supreme Court. Thus a vacancy in the old court was to be filled, in addition to the three new appointments to be made if the bill before Congress should pass. All depended, however, upon the passage of the bill and the disposition to be made of the various circuits. On May 2, 1826, Daniel Webster, who had introduced the judiciary bill in the House, wrote to a friend: "A pretty satisfactory arrangement will be made as to the Judge. The Present Postmaster General (John McLean of Ohio) will be named in case Ohio be separated from Kentucky. Otherwise I conjecture the Judge in that quarter will be N. F. Pope, at present District Judge of Illinois."

But in the end the judiciary bill died, the two houses being unable to agree on amendments. No new appointments were neces-

sary, and the circuits remained the same. As to the vacancy caused by Todd's death, geographical considerations required that his successor be appointed from his own state—Kentucky—and thus an end was put to Pope's candidacy.

Failing in his effort to secure advancement in the judiciary, Pope turned to a different field—the United States Senate. In 1824, when John McLean[1] had been elected to fill an unexpired term, he had received three votes; in 1828, when McLean was to come up for re-election, some believed that Pope might successfully oppose him. The pre-election manoeuvering, however, was complicated by a congressional election which disrupted the old factional alignments and cost Pope what little chance he had. In the contest Ninian Edwards chose to support George Forquer against Joseph Duncan, but Pope refused to follow his lead and remained neutral. Edwards, piqued, declined to support his senatorial pretensions, and secretly promised his aid to McLean, his own former antagonist. "You may think it strange that I will not go for Mr. Pope," he wrote to McLean. "The reason is plain; if he chooses to leave his old friends I will not go with him."

It was not so much the desertion of Edwards, however, as it was the rapidly waning power of factional politicians generally that accounted for the failure of Pope's aspirations. The people were fast tiring of candidates who relied solely on factional animosities for support. In the congressional campaign Duncan, who had never been prominently allied with the dominant groups, won an easy victory, while in the senatorial election McLean was re-elected unanimously.

Six years later Pope made another attempt for the senatorship. "You have or will have heard that I am held up as a candidate for the Senate of the U. States," he informed Henry Eddy of Shawneetown. ". . . I have no idea how it will do. My geographical position will militate against the project. But it was thought probable that my chances were better than those of any one who could be thought of." By the latter part of September he was

[1] This John McLean should not be confused with John McLean of Ohio, mentioned in connection with Pope's candidacy for the Supreme Court. John McLean of Illinois was a Shawneetown lawyer who had been one of the leading opponents of the Edwards faction in politics. John McLean of Ohio was a Cincinnati lawyer who was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1828 upon the death of Robert Trimble, Thomas Todd's successor. More will be said of him in connection with Pope's last years on the bench.

still in the dark as to his prospects. "In the Senatorial election non-committal seems the order," he wrote.

To other, more practised politicians his prospects presented no such problem. John Reynolds dismissed his candidacy in four curt, characteristic sentences. "I hear by Col. Dement," he wrote, "that Judge Pope is out for the U. S. Senate. This will not do. He is too long out of use. Wants greese and friends." Reynold's prediction was correct. When the legislature met in December to elect a senator, Pope received not a single vote.

It was his last attempt to secure political office. The political system which he had known had disappeared. The days of factional politics were over in Illinois. In their place had come alignment along national lines, Jackson men and anti-Jackson men. And as time went on Nathaniel Pope, old Jeffersonian that he was, diverged more and more from the militant Democratic majority. A cordial supporter of Adams' administration, the excesses of Jackson's supporters disgusted him—"senseless noise" he characterized their exuberance. Ultimately he was to be found in the Whig party. Gustave Koerner described an incident which typified the political faith of his last years. Koerner, an ardent Democrat, was defending some measure of party policy to Pope. "Sir," he replied in what Koerner called his Johnsonian manner, "I despise a young man who is not a Democrat; but a man of forty who is not a Whig I also despise!"

During the years when Pope was holding short terms of court at Vandalia and hoping for political advancement, great changes were taking place in Illinois. The state was growing rapidly. Its population, less than 40,000 in 1818, increased to 157,000 in 1830 and leaped to 476,000 in the ten years which followed. Large numbers of the new settlers were finding homes in the northern half of the state, which had been entirely unsettled in 1818. The shift in population meant a decline in importance for the southern part of the state. Kaskaskia, once the foremost town, sank into the relative obscurity of a small county seat.

Nevertheless, Pope continued to live there, complaining occasionally of its quiet, but on the whole, happy. The old French town possessed an air of maturity, of unconcern with growth and progress, that had no little attraction for a certain type of mind. Morever, it was one of the few places in the state where, during

Kaskaskia in the Later Years of Pope's Residence There

his lifetime, a cultivated society might be found. Travelers might complain of the dilapidated appearance of its ancient buildings, of the slovenliness of its citizens and their lack of enterprise, but they rarely failed to mention the comfortable homes in which the leading inhabitants of the town lived and the atmosphere of gentility and distinction which permeated them.

Into the life of the town Pope entered fully. If subscriptions were taken or memorials passed, his name was certain to be found among the signers, whether the object was the founding of a Bible society, the establishment of a school or the formation of a bank. On occasion, his interest in the place of his residence took substantial forms. In 1819, for instance, when plans were made for the construction of a court house, he donated a tract of land in Kaskaskia for its site, and contributed $300.00 toward the cost of the building erected upon it. Later, when a company was formed to build a bridge across the Kaskaskia, he became its president as well as one of the principal stockholders.

With the removal of the capital to Vandalia, not much happened in Kaskaskia. In 1825, however, there came a day when the town was all excitment. The occasion was the visit of the Marquis de Lafayette, then making a tour of the United States. Only a few hours' notice of his coming was given, but a committee on arrangements, of which Pope was a member, was formed, and hasty preparations were made for his reception. The townspeople met him at the boat landing and escorted him to the home of General Edgar, where a reception was held. Revolutionary soldiers, who had served under him in Brandywine and Yorktown, were presented while in the doorways the last of the Kaskaskia Indians looked on in sombre silence. A dinner at the tavern of Colonel Sweet, decked with laurel wreath and roses, followed. After the tables were cleared the guest of honor was praised in innumerable toasts—"the champion of the rights of man," "the consistent friend of liberty and man," "the protector of American liberty." The final event was a ball at the home of William Morrison. It was a day to be remembered, a high point in Kaskaskia's placid existence.

Various interests and activities kept time from hanging too heavily on Pope's hands. For a number of years there was the fascinating business of land speculation. The procedure was to stretch one's credit to the limit and buy all the land one could,

and then hold for the increase in price which was certain to come. Pope, Edwards, Cook—all the officers of the territorial government, in fact—plunged heavily. A letter which John Reynolds wrote to Ninian Edwards in 1818 reveals the high hopes which animated them. "Mr. Pope concluded the affair of the Piasa Land," he wrote. "I have executed to him an equal fifth of the claim; and has made the same contract in writing to you. . . . As to the value of the Land it is immense. Major Hunter of St. Louis (so reports say) gave Meachan $10,000 for half of one quarter sec. of the Denegen Entry. . . "

Edwards' speculations were successful and made him wealthy, but Pope was less fortunate. As Kaskaskia declined in importance, land which he owned in the vicinity failed to raise in value. It was a blow, too, when Congress reduced the price of government land from $2.00 to $1.25 an acre in 1820. The Pope's Bluff project failed, and his title to a number of town lots in Alton became involved. In the end, he lost most of the money which he had invested.

In 1829 Pope built a steam saw and grist mill at Kaskaskia. A letter to John Messenger, written in August of that year, reveals him as somewhat deficient in the technical knowledge of mill construction. "I am looking for an Engineer and some articles necessary for my steam engine," he wrote. "As soon as they arrive I shall need you for advice and shall send for you. In the meantime I wish you would visit St. Louis and examine the mill about three miles above it. My driving mill is to be of wood. I wish to have it not less than twelve feet diameter. A mill-wright in Kentucky thinks it too large. I can't see why. . . . I shall have to season my timber by boiling or steaming. What think you of it? How long must we delay after it is steamed or boiled before it can be used with propriety?" Several months later Mrs. Pope wrote to one of her daughters, then visiting at Louisville, Kentucky, that the mill had eaten up all of Pope's resources, and added: "We know not when we shall ever reap any benefit therefrom." However, in spite of the owner's inexperience it was finally completed, and Pope operated it for a number of years.

The winter of 1833-34 found Nathaniel Pope engaged in a difficult and delicate undertaking of more than ordinary interest. In 1779 and 1780, when George Rogers Clark's regiment was at

Kaskaskia, Pierre Menard had honored a number of drafts drawn by Lt. Col. John Montgomery, commanding in Clark's absence. Menard had presented them for payment in 1781, only to have them disallowed on the technical ground that they were not drawn by Clark himself. Soon after Pope settled in Kaskaskia Menard placed the drafts in his hands, and since the chance of collecting them seemed small, agreed to give him half of whatever he might realize upon them. While he was in Congress Pope tried to get a settlement for them, but without success.

Thus the matter stood until 1833, when several claimants secured judgments against the state of Virginia for Revolutionary debts of a different character. As a result, the state passed a law providing for the examination of certain classes of claims. Although Menard's claim was not included, Pope was encouraged. Early in 1834 he set out for Richmond, where he remained for several weeks. He was highly successful. He secured the passage of a law providing for the appointment of a commissioner to investigate debts of the kind in which he was interested, and then he obtained the commissioner's approval upon Menard's claim. It was a sizable sum, approximately $44,000 in all.

The Richmond negotiation, however, was only the first step. When Virginia had ceded its western lands to the United States, the general government had assumed the unpaid obligations which the state had incurred in the Revolution. Consequently, the second part of Pope's task was to secure an appropriation from Congress. From Richmond he went to Washington, where he tried to secure the passage of a special appropriation. He met with little encouragement. Between 1834 and 1838 he was in the national capital at least four times for the same purpose. Never was he successful. Still, hope never departed.

Although he failed to attain the object of his visits, months spent in Washington offered sights and scenes and glimpses of politics which he obviously enjoyed, and which he passed on to his family with relish. "If you were here you would see plenty of fine ladies riding in their fine carriages," he wrote to Cynthia and Lucretia in February, 1835. "A great many of them go every day to Congress to hear the members speak. When Mr. Clay is to speak they crowd the Senate Chamber to hear him. They like to hear him better than any other person. Yet they like very much

to hear Mr. Webster, Calhoun & Preston. The Capitol," he added, "is a splendid building built of stone, all sawed. It has a great many rooms in it, so that people may get lost. There is one room in it called the rotunda without windows and covered with glass. That room is three times as large as our whole house galeries kitchen & all."

A street sight took his eye. "You would have been highly diverted today," he wrote the two girls, "to see a large ox from Rhode Island marched through the streets covered with ribbons, an orange on each horn. Before him went two fiddlers playing & a man playing the tambourin—one man carrying the flag and another the axe decorated with ribbons. He is to be killed tomorrow. You never saw the like of the boys of all sizes in the procession. They say he weighs four thousand and has been sold to the Butchers here for five hundred Dollars."

Politics was a source of continual interest. Washington was still a small city, where it was possible for a visitor to meet and know most of the individuals who seemed to the country at large to dwell on inaccessible heights. That Pope enjoyed mixing with them, that he took keen pleasure in picking up and passing on the current political gossip, is apparent from his letters. Even in letters to his wife speculations on Van Buren's financial policy and its probable political effects were likely to intrude between comments on the childrens' health and his own longing for home.

For there, to an increasing degree as the years passed, his interests centered. Children had come at regular intervals. Frontier conditions and the backwardness of medical science had taken their inevitable toll, but even so, two sons and four daughters survived. Their presence in the rambling home at Kaskaskia made absence from the quiet old town a hardship to be endured instead of a pleasure to be enjoyed. "I will be home as soon as I can," he wrote from Washington in February, 1835. "I love home better than any where else. Every time I go from home I enjoy myself less & less. The people here are very fine and very polite, it is true, but still I am happier with you all." Two and a half years later he wrote again from the capital: "This world has few attractions for [me] out of my domestic circle. To be spared to love and cherish and sustain in the decline of life your beloved mother and to advance my dear children is now my almost only

wish. That accomplished I feel that I have in a great degree fulfilled my destiny." Always, when absent, he expressed the keenest desire to hear from home, and his own letters to his family, and especially to his wife, were marked by tenderness and affection.

As the children neared maturity, Pope felt deeply a parent's obligation to impress the wisdom of experience upon them. A letter to John, written from Washington in September, 1837, is filled with advice on thoroughness, promptness and economy. "You cannot be too seriously impressed," he wrote, "with the necessity of doing things right and in apt time. Such men are always men of leisure. If you hear a man say he is hurried and his business is behind hand and apologise for doing a thing incorrectly because he was too much hurried, you may be sure that he is very lazy or deficient in systematic arrangement. Hence do your work and do it correctly and then play. . . . No man is [as] worried with his affairs as the indolent man. Be always ahead of your business. Think of this my dear son and practice upon it and you will be a useful and happy man. These are the suggestions of experience. I do not pretend," he concluded in contrition, "that I have always acted up to them. On the contrary I confess that I have failed to a great extent."

"I am sorry that you are not here," he wrote in the same letter, "because you might have your views enlarged and your ambition awakened by the congregation of the great men of the nation now here. And why are you not? The want of money—so you see money is a very useful article — essential to our profitable gratifications. This deprivation to you of a highly useful and agreeable journey should admonish you to husband your funds and not waste them upon foolish gratifications. We are too apt when young to undervalue economy and not awaken to a sense of the error until too late to repair it."

Anxious as he was that his children should escape at least some of life's hazards, he had no disposition to judge harshly when they slipped. "Fear not my beloved child any reproaches from your father," he wrote to Penelope with reference to some youthful indiscretion. "If you have erred your own good sense and clear conception of propriety have rebuked you sufficiently." And to Mrs. Pope he wrote of John, who apparently had got into some sort of difficulty at the beginning of his West Point course:

"John's letter is of the most gratifying character. Poor fellow he supposed me ignorant, but I was not—enough had transpired to awaken the keenest anxiety, but as you are so unwilling to believe I kept them [his fears] to myself. He is at the most dangerous age and it is to be hoped that his time will be so fully employed that there will be no danger of a relapse."

William, the oldest child, entered the United States Navy in 1829 and served for ten years. When Pope was in the East in the spring of 1834 his keenest pleasure came from acquaintance with those who knew his son, with whom his own contacts were necessarily infrequent. He spent a day at the Norfolk Navy Yard in the hope of finding someone who knew him. "I met with an old, old maid," he wrote to his daughter Penelope, "who remembered our dear William and by her I sent a message to him. . . . My desire was to contract as many acquaintances there as possible in the hopes of serving him. At Richmond my roommate was Captain Duncan with whom William sailed and of whom he spoke in his letters with such decided affection. Never was companion more interesting." Once it seemed that his fondest hope—a meeting with his son—would be gratified. "On my return from Richmond," he wrote, "on entering the harbor of Norfolk, a gentleman on board exclaimed 'There is the Lexington [William Pope's ship] just arrived from the coast of Brazil.' Imagine the joy that thrilled through my whole frame. But it was not the Lexington."

Mixed with affection for his children was pride. At Richmond he noted gratefully that Captain Duncan spoke of William "with great approbation—of his assiduity, attention to his duties and correct moral deportment &c &c." He was disappointed when John ranked seventeenth in his class at the military academy—there were fifty-six graduates in 1842—but five years later, when the general assembly of Illinois presented a sword to the young soldier in recognition of his gallant conduct at the Battle of Monterey, the father's gratification touched many of those who attended the ceremonies. Nor was he proud only of his sons. To Lucretia he wrote from Springfield: "I recd your letter this morning and sent it to Cynthia with orders to write to you. I have not time today. I did wish you were here yesterday when I delivered the opinion in the case of Smith (the Mormon Prophet). She sat by my side, it would have made me most happy if you had been on the other side."

As the years went by the Pope children left the family home one by one. While William was in the navy, Penelope married Beverly Allen, a St. Louis lawyer, and Elizabeth, Dr. Thomas Hope. The void their absence left can be sensed from a letter written by Pope to his wife in the late autumn of 1836. Mrs. Pope had taken the three remaining children on a visit to her daughter in St. Louis while her husband had remained in Kaskaskia. "No news from you since you left home," he wrote. "Your letters would break upon the tedium of my life. In the day I lounge about trying to get winter supplies and to engage hands to repair Susan's house and inclose my garden. On Monday Davis promises to come and another hand. Montrois has promised the pailing early in the week. So if there be no disappointment Susan's house will be put in order, the carriage house built, the garden inclosed and our fireplaces repaired, before your return. I trust your & the children's society has been serviceable to Pen. If so I am content to be alone awhile. At night Mr. Bosen reads to me until ten o'clock and then we go to bed. I have never eaten from home but once and never tasted tea but once which was last night on occasion of Govr Kinney's supping and spending the night with us."

VII

About this time loneliness and the tedium of eventless days began to be alleviated by steady increases in court work. The rapid growth of Illinois was having its effect. Villages were growing into towns and towns were becoming cities, commerce was expanding and financial transactions becoming intricate. A noticeable increase in the work of Pope's court followed.

The first result of the increasing volume of litigation was the extension of the circuit court system to Illinois. Under the federal judicial system in effect throughout Pope's career on the bench there were two different grades of United States courts in addition to the Supreme Court. First came the district courts, each district, generally speaking, being composed of a single state. Then came the circuit courts, varying in number as new states were admitted to the Union. Each circuit was composed of one or more districts. Two judges, the district judge and one of the justices of the United States Supreme Court, presided over each

circuit court. Although the circuit court exercised a limited appellate jurisdiction, both were primarily *nisi prius* courts dealing with different items of legislation. Thus the district court had cognizance of admiralty cases, minor offenses against the federal criminal code, and suits involving less than $500; while more important criminal cases, suits involving copyrights and patents, and those in which more than $500 was at issue were brought in the circuit court.

In 1837 Illinois was made a part of the seventh circuit, made up also of Ohio, Indiana and Michigan. The first circuit court was held in Vandalia in June of the following year, with Justice John McLean and Pope presiding. For the next eleven years, except when illness prevented the attendance of one or the other, the two men held court together every summer. At the winter sessions Pope, as district judge, sat alone.

The increased business of the federal courts soon found reflection in the local newspapers. "Vandalia is full of strangers," wrote the correspondent of the *Sangamo Journal* on June 4, 1838. "The United States District and Circuit Courts, as well as the Supreme Court of the State are now in session. . . . The United States District Court was opened this morning and the docket read over." The following summer the Vandalia paper stated that an unusually large docket confronted the judges. Accounts of individual cases, heretofore almost unknown, became more common. "A negro man charged with stealing the Express Mail some months since at Illinoistown, was tried during the late term of the U. S. Circuit Court, in this place, convicted and sentenced to three years confinement at hard labor in the State Penitentiary," the *Vandalia Press* informed its readers in June, 1838.

In 1839 the state offices were transferred from Vandalia to Springfield, and the federal courts followed. The first session in the new capital so impressed a young Chicago lawyer, Isaac N. Arnold, that forty years later he was able to recreate it in vivid detail.

> If we could, in fancy, enter the United States Circuit Court Room. . . we should be impressed with the majestic figure, imposing presence and dignified bearing of the presiding Judge, John McLean, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. His person and face were often compared

to Washington's—whom he is said to have strikingly resembled.

Nathaniel Pope, the District Judge, was shorter and stouter in person, more blunt and sturdy in manner, and not so familiar with the law-books, the cases, and literature of the law, but of a most clear, rigorous and logical mind. If we enter their court, then held, if I am not mistaken, in one of the churches in this city, we should find Ferris Foreman, the United States District Attorney, presenting the case of "The United States *vs.* Gratiot," then a historic name in Missouri and the Northwest, in a case arising under a lease, by the Government, of a portion of the lead mines of Galena. We should hear the late Judge Breese making a very learned argument for the defense. If we lingered until the next case was called, we should hear the sharp, clear, ringing voice of Stephen T. Logan opening his case. If we remained until the trial ended, we should concur in the remark that this small, red-haired man, inferior in person, but with an eye whose keenness indicated his sharp and incisive intellect; this little man, take him all in all, was then the best *nisi prius* lawyer in the State, and it would be difficult to find his superior anywhere.

For the first time since Pope's appointment to the bench, it is possible to speak with certainty of the character of the litigation which came before him. Frequent glimpses of criminal cases appear in the newspapers. Thus one learns that at the June term, 1840, three mail robbers were tried, convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary, while at the same term a year later the postmaster and assistant postmaster at Carrollton were convicted of opening mail and taking out money. At the same term a former register of the Vandalia land office was convicted of theft—a victory which the government followed up at once by filing suit against his securities to recover the amount of his defalcation.

Now and then a case was so full of drama or so heavy with political consequences that it aroused wide interest. Such was *Ex parte Joseph Smith, (the Mormon Prophet), on Habeas Corpus,* which came before Pope alone at the December, 1842, term of the district court. On the application of the governor of Missouri the governor of Illinois had issued a warrant for the arrest of Joseph Smith, the leader of the Mormons then residing at Nauvoo in the western part of the state. Smith was charged with having instigated an attempt upon the life of Ex-Governor Boggs of Missouri.

Wishing to test the legality of the warrant, Smith came to Springfield and submitted to arrest, whereupon his counsel, Justin Butterfield of Chicago and Benjamin S. Edwards of Springfield, sued out a writ of *habeas corpus*.

In addition to arousing great interest, the case gave rise to an episode which has found a lasting place in the lore of the Illinois bar. Isaac N. Arnold's account of what happened cannot be improved.

> The Prophet (so-called) was attended by his twelve Apostles and a large number of his followers. . . . The court room thronged with prominent members of the bar, and public men. Judge Pope was a gallant gentleman of the old school, and loved nothing better than to be in the midst of youth and beauty. Seats were crowded on the Judge's platform, on both sides and behind the Judge, and an array of brilliant and beautiful ladies almost encircled the Court. Mr. Butterfield, dressed *a la Webster*, in blue dress-coat and metal buttons, with buff vest, rose with dignity and amidst the most profound silence. Pausing, and running his eyes admiringly from the central figure of Judge Pope, along the rows of lovely women on each side of him, he said:
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> "May it please the Court:
>
> "I appear before you today under circumstances most novel and peculiar. I am to address the 'Pope' (bowing to the Judge) surrounded by angels (bowing still lower to the ladies), in the presence of the holy Apostles, in behalf of the Prophet of the Lord."

In the trial of the case Josiah Lamborn, resisting Smith's discharge, contended that the United States court did not have jurisdiction. Smith's counsel, on the other hand, maintained that the governor of Illinois had no right to extradite the prisoner unless it could be proved that he had committed a crime in Missouri and had fled from justice in that state; and asked for his discharge on the ground that the affidavit upon which the warrant for his arrest had been issued failed to establish either of these requirements as facts.

The case was heard on January 4, 1843; on the following day Pope delivered his opinion, which was printed *in extenso* in the *Sangamo Journal*. The question of jurisdiction he decided in the affirmative. As to the legality of extradition, his statement of the case foreshadowed his decision. "This case presents the important question arising under the constitution and laws of the United

States, whether a citizen of the State of Illinois can be transported from his own State to the State of Missouri, to be there tried for a crime, which, if he ever committed, was committed in the State of Illinois; whether he can be transported to Missouri, as a fugitive from justice, when he has never fled from that State." "The court must hold," he concluded, "that where a necessary fact is not stated in the affidavit, it does not exist. It is not averred that Smith was accessory before the fact, in the State of Missouri, nor that he committed a crime in Missouri: therefore he did not commit the crime in Missouri,—did not flee from Missouri to avoid punishment." Accordingly, he ordered the prisoner discharged. The *Sangamo Journal* noted "universal acquiescence" in the decision.

The newspapers, noticing only cases in which there was more than ordinary popular interest, furnish an incomplete picture of the work of the federal courts in Illinois. Fortunately, the deficiency can be made up from another source, for with the incorporation of Illinois into the circuit court system, John McLean added the leading decisions of its courts to the Reports which he compiled throughout his service on the bench.

Cases involving the public lands frequently figure in the pages of McLean's Reports. The first Illinois case reported was *United States vs. Gratiot,* the trial of which was described by Isaac N. Arnold, in which the power of the federal government to lease lead mines within the limits of a state was presented for decision. *United States vs. Magoon* involved the removal of a large amount of lead from government land, while in another trial at the same term—1843—the cutting of timber from the public domain was charged. Land office officials were frequently in trouble over accounts, and mail robbery was a common offense.

On numerous occasions the court was called upon to decide questions of commerce and finance. Was the master of a lake vessel entitled to collect freight on a shipment of goods from Buffalo to Chicago, when on account of ice part of the shipment was landed at Detroit, and the balance delivered at Chicago months after it was due? The question was presented in *Bork vs. Norton,* tried at the June term, 1841. Could the consideration paid for certain lots of ground be recovered, in view of the fact that a promise to convey the land by warranty deed had not been carried out? In

Cooper vs. Brown, heard at the same term, the court decided that it could. Promissory notes, bills of exchange and partnerships were involved in many cases; others turned on the technical questions of pleading, evidence and jurisdiction.

There were times when McLean and Pope disagreed on decisions. When this happened, the case in question was certified to the Supreme Court. The first case so certified—the first Illinois case, in fact, to be passed upon by the Supreme Court—was *United States vs. Gratiot.* There, apparently, the court held with McLean instead of Pope. The reverse was true with the next case— *United States vs. William Linn*—in which the judges divided on the question of whether an instrument, signed by sureties but without seals, was good at common law. McLean's dissenting opinion indicates that the court upheld Pope's contention.

In all, nine cases were certified from the circuit court for Illinois to the Supreme Court during Pope's incumbency. In four of them it is apparent that the court upheld McLean, while in three others the judges sided with Pope. In the remaining two it is impossible to tell to whom the court inclined, although the final opinion in one of the two—*Moore vs. Brown et al.*—was in entire harmony with Pope's published opinions in other cases on tax titles, which was the question at issue. It is hardly possible to test judicial capacity by an arithmetical measuring stick; yet the final disposal of these nine cases would indicate that McLean was not indulging in hollow eulogy when, after Pope's death, he wrote: "I seldom differed with him, in an opinion pronounced, without feeling solicitude in regard to my own views."

Important factors contributing to the increased volume of litigation in the federal courts for Illinois were the panic of 1837 and the long period of stagnation which followed. Many a western merchant had paid for his year's stock with notes or bills of exchange which he was unable to meet at maturity. In large numbers the eastern firms sued for collection, and the record books were filled with judgments. Among the victims were two members of Pope's own family—his son William, who had left the navy, and his son-in-law, Thomas M. Hope. On December 12, 1840, judgment was confessed on notes of the firms of Thomas M. Hope & Co. and William Pope & Co., and the father of the two principals assessed damages of $1,815.06 against them, and ordered executions to issue.

By 1841 the burden of debt had become so heavy that a national bankruptcy act, the second in the country's history, was passed.

The earlier act, in force from 1800 to 1803, had been limited in its operation to merchants and traders, and had made no provision for voluntary bankruptcy, but in the act of 1841 both of these limitations were removed. Thousands took advantage of the provisions of the new law. The act went into effect on February 1, 1842. The four issues of the *Sangamo Journal* for February of that year contained notices of application for discharge from debts in 183 cases, and Pope announced that he would hold a special term of the district court in Springfield on the first Monday in March. As the year progressed, the applications increased in number until in December the *Sangamo Journal* was forced to issue a special four-page edition devoted entirely to bankruptcy notices.

Opposition to the law developed speedily, however. There was much complaint on the ground that it was an invasion of states rights, and debtors objected to the inconvenience of traveling to the seat of government for hearings. As a result, it was repealed at the end of a year's operation.

If the years which followed the establishment of the federal courts at Springfield brought heavy increases in work for Nathaniel Pope, they also brought many compensations. The life of the state centered in the capital during the weeks court was in session. The state supreme court usually met at the same time, and during the December term the legislature was in session in alternate years. As a result, the prominent men of the state were to be found congregated at Springfield. In December, 1841, the *Illinois State Register* described a typical gathering. "Many distinguished gentlemen have arrived at the seat of government," said the editor; "among which are Judge Pope, of the District Court, Mr. Butterfield, U. S. District Attorney, and a large number of jurors from different parts of the State attending the U. S. Court, which commenced its session on Monday last. Gen. Ewing, Speaker of the House, arrived on Monday last, and is at the American. Hon. S. Breese, of the Supreme Court, arrived on Tuesday, and is at the house of Mr. Walters. Mr. R. Smith, Col. Hundley, and Mr. Chickering, of Madison, are at the American.

Dr. Berry, of Cairo, Mr. Arnold and Mr. Davis, of Chicago, are also here, and put up at the American."

The visitors usually found plenty to interest them. During the June term in 1840 the state Whig convention was held in Springfield. Those who were present never forgot it. The country was deep in the 'Hard Cider and Log Cabin' campaign, and the Whigs of Illinois outdid themselves in the general madness. Thousands from all parts of the state flocked to Springfield, many delegations bringing with them gigantic canoes or log cabins mounted on wheels. The Chicago delegates brought a full-rigged brig. All brought their own provisions and camped on the outskirts of the town. Speeches were made interminably, while at night campaign songs could be heard for miles around. It was a stirring occasion.

When the legislature was in session, the 'lobby' could be depended upon to furnish occupation for spare time. At night the men gathered at the state house, where stump speakers held forth on political topics and general discussions of various matters of interest were indulged in. An organization, half serious and half facetious, was usually formed under the speakership of 'Lord Coke.' Committees were appointed on rules for the government of the lobby, on banking and finance, agriculture, education, state history—and also on such matters as "the conflagration of the town at the county seat of Henry County, which consisted of one house, and that used for a court house, jail, tavern, grocery and dram-shop, school house and meeting house;" or the supply of "pipes, tobacco and segars for fumigating on the most approved knickerbocker principles." In the latter class was the committee on "feats of activity and agility; foot racing, ground and lofty tumbling, and all exercises of the 'Stadium,' the 'palestra' and the 'Campus Martius,'" to which Pope and Bowling Green, both portly, were appointed in 1839.

As time went on and the capital became more sophisticated, amusements became more plentiful. In January, 1845, the *Sangamo Journal* pointed proudly to the various ways in which one's leisure hours might be spent: "Messrs. Sauvinet & Co.'s Promenade Concert; Mr. Munson's Juvenile Concert; the concerts of the Congo Serenaders; the Exhibitions of West's Painting of Death on the Pale Horse; the Exhibition of the Painting of

Christ Healing the Sick, a splendid copy of West's Painting by a citizen of Adams county; the Exhibition by Mr. Higby of his Gallery of Paintings; the discussions in the Lobby of subjects of great interest to our State, in which some of the ablest of our public speakers have taken a part; the able and instructive course of Lectures on Scientific subjects, now progressing, and in which Col. E. D. Baker, Dr. C. Goudy, and Professor Post, of Jacksonville College, have distinguished themselves—besides public balls, and private parties, among which we may mention the party given by Mrs. Young, and the large party given by Hon. N. W. Edwards, which came off on Friday night last; and on Wednesday night (January 8th) a party, which it is supposed will be among the most brilliant, is to come off at the State House."

Not the least of Springfield's advantages, so far as Pope was concerned, was the opportunity the town provided for association with his children. Often the younger daughters visited friends there while court was in session. Once, in 1842, a party was organized for a trip to Chicago. B. S. Edwards, Mrs. Edwards and their small daughter, Pope with Lucretia, Cynthia, Penelope (Mrs. Allen) and her daughter, and two or three others drove in carriages to the city on the lake, where John and Robert Kinzie and other early settlers entertained the ladies by impersonating Indians and staging a war dance in the Tremont House. After 1845 a court session was the occasion for a long and pleasant visit at the home of William Pope, now settled in Springfield as the clerk of his father's court. Such visits must have been particularly welcome to Nathaniel Pope, for after 1844 he had no home of his own. In the summer of that year the Mississippi swept over Kaskaskia, flooding it so deeply that steamboats sailed over the town. Some of the inhabitants returned to their homes after the waters receded, but for the remainder of their lives Nathaniel and Lucretia Pope lived with their children.

"Judges McLean and Pope both presiding," stated the *Illinois State Register* in commenting on the session of the circuit and district courts held in the summer of 1843. "Both appear to enjoy their usual health and promptitude of character." It was well that this was the case, for the next few years were to be busy ones. Dockets became longer and longer, and terms lengthened into weeks at a time. Before long the strain began to tell on

Lucretia Backus Pope

Pope. "Judge Pope absent from indisposition," the *Register* noted at the summer term in 1846, while in an opinion published early in 1848 the judge himself referred to the poor state of his health.

In 1848 additional work was given the judges by the passage of an act providing that one term of the circuit and district courts should be held at Chicago on the first Monday of July in each year. McLean, already burdened to the limit, found it impossible to attend, so Pope, with his son William as clerk, presided over the first United States court held in Chicago.

Six months later, in traveling from his daughter's home in St. Louis to hold court in Springfield, Pope narrowly escaped a serious accident. Heavy rains had made the roads almost impassable, and the streams were out of their banks. When the stage in which he was riding reached Sugar Creek, a few miles south of his destination, only a part of the bridge could be seen above the water. The driver stopped his horses and blew his horn, whereupon a man appeared on the other side and shouted something, but the wind prevented his voice from carrying. Supposing that all was safe, the driver started forward. Immediately the man on the opposite bank plunged into the water and commenced to gesticulate wildly. All the driver's skill was required to stop his horses on the narrow causeway. The investigation which followed showed that part of the bridge had been carried away. A few feet farther, and there would have been little chance for the lives of any of the passengers.

In spite of the narrow escape, Pope delivered one of his best opinions at the session which followed. The case was *Arrowsmith vs. Burlingim,* in which he was required to pass upon the validity of a title derived from the state auditor through a sale for taxes.

Earlier in the year, in the case of *Mayhew vs. Davis,* he had set forth his views on the question of tax titles, holding that a sale for taxes could not be considered valid unless strict compliance with every requirement of the law concerning such sales could be shown. At the request of the bar, the opinion was published at once. Essentially the same question was presented in *Arrowsmith vs. Burlingim,* and essentially the same answer was given. The opinion in the latter case, however, was unusual in two respects: it was written with a lucidity infrequent in judicial decisions, and it was marked by very real moral indignation. "The land in con-

troversy," Pope wrote, "has been sold by the Auditor for $1.84 to Cavalry, a little more than a cent an acre. In a contest between Cavalry and the plantiff, who would sympathize with Cavalry? Can the defendant who purchased with notice claim more? This court will not inquire into the conscience of the man whose morality will allow him to sleep quietly after appropriating to himself one hundred and sixty acres of valuable land for the pitiful sum of one dollar and eighty-four cents."

Pope was not a man to hide his feelings merely because he sat in a judicial position. In *Mayhew vs. Davis* he had answered an argument of counsel by the curt statement: "This is truly preposterous;" and similar remarks were directed at attorneys in his court whenever he thought it necessary. "He was pretty severe upon the lawyers who practiced in his court, and was not very choice as to the words he used when he saw fit to reprimand them," Usher F. Linder commented. An "arbitrary, self-willed tyrannical old judge," a postal inspector complained after Pope had thrown one of his cases out of court. "On the bench he was stern and unbending, sometimes a little too blunt," said Gustave Koerner; "perhaps on some subjects he was considered somewhat prejudiced, particularly in politics. His convictions were so firm as to make him obstinate and rather dogmatical. His likes and dislikes were very strong. But his integrity on the bench was undoubted. He hated all shams; his eminently clear and discerning mind saw through a case at once."

"The Judge was a strong, original character," said Anson S. Miller of Rockford, who often practised in his court. "He had a head like a half-bushel, with brain enough for six men. He was learned, but rough and gruff. He had a wonderful knowledge of human nature, and was utterly without fear. Gen. Pope has many of the father's qualities. . . . His father had the gift of speaking decidedly plain English, even in court. We had at the bar in those days a very elegant and accomplished gentleman—the Hon. David J. Baker—who one day in the court-room took his place near the stove, just outside the bar, and, with almost an ostentation of deference, called the attention of the court to the fact, and begged that, on account of his illness, he might be permitted to stand there during the case in which he was then engaged. The Judge heard his elaborate and rather dainty petition, and then,

with the utmost gravity, and in a deep, gruff voice, replied, 'Mr. Baker, the court don't care a damn where you stand!'"

Lincoln, Miller added, was one of Pope's favorites. "He told me that he thought Lincoln a very able and promising man. The Judge was rough toward everyone; but his roughness toward Lincoln had a touch of tenderness in it. He would sometimes rebuke him, but in a sort of fatherly way. I remember that once Judge Pope called a case in which Lincoln was engaged; but Lincoln did not answer. He called again; no answer. 'Where's Lincoln?' roared the Judge, in his severe fashion; 'why don't he attend to his business?' Soon Lincoln came shambling into court. 'O, Mr. Lincoln, you've come at last, have you? Well, I've been calling for you a long time.' Many persons wondered at the favor shown to John Pope by Mr. Lincoln during the war. . . . . Lincoln understood the sort of roar in John Pope's proclamations which many people thought gasconade. That roar he got from his gruff old father; it was the roar of the lion and Lincoln had heard it a thousand times. It was the most natural thing in the world for Lincoln to stand up for John Pope."

In the summer of 1849 Pope held court alone at Springfield. "There are some 70 cases set for trial before the present United States District and Circuit Courts, now in session, in this city," said the *Illinois Journal;* "and they are mostly contested cases, involving legal questions, which throws a tremendous amount of labor upon the judge. But he bears it well, and is in good health. We believe it is now rendered certain that *fat* men can perform double duty on pressing occasions."

From Springfield Pope went to Chicago, where he held court in the law rooms of Buckner S. Morris. The session lasted five weeks, and more than twenty-five important cases were disposed of.

Midway in the term Pope wrote a letter to one of his granddaughters, Ann Allen, which contains an interesting picture of the young metropolis whose importance he had at least in part foreseen. "This is a very improving city of about 24,000 inhabitants," he said, "situated on Lake Michigan and on both sides of the Chicago River, that is always full of ships, steam boats and canal boats—some of the steam boats are more magnificent than any I have ever seen. They carry passengers from here to Buffalo, passing through Lakes Michigan, Huron, the Detroit River & Lake

Erie a thousand miles for five Dollars and give fine accommodations. The Ships carry produce such as beef, pork & wheat &c &c and among other things bring lumber in great quantity such as plank, shingles & scantling—much of which goes down the Illinois River through the Canal. There have been two fires since I came. The loss at one is estimated at forty thousand Dollars. I have heard no estimate of the other."

He was much concerned about a cholera epidemic then raging in St. Louis, especially since he had heard that James Yeatman, Cynthia's husband, had been stricken and was critically ill. Moreover, William was not well, and was planning to return home and leave his deputy in charge. About himself he refused to worry. "I asked a Doctor the other day," he wrote, "if he ever knew a man to die of cholera who was not afraid of it. His answer was that he did [not] recollect. Then I said there was no danger to me." *Tic douloureux* often threatened him, but as yet he had had no spasms. His health, in fact, was excellent. The weather had been intensely hot, and some of the lawyers had begged for a rest, but he saw no reason for granting one. "I am not broken down," he concluded.

This letter was written on July 20, 1849. Two weeks later, on August 4, Pope retired for the night, apparently in his usual health. Some hours later he awoke. Attempting to speak to the friend who shared his room, he was terrified to discover that he could not recall the friend's name, nor even his own. For a long time familiar faces passed through his mind, all nameless. It was an attack of cerebral apoplexy, a forewarning that the end was not far in the future.

The attack passed, and he regained sufficient strength to finish the term. Four months later he held the winter term of court in Springfield, and then returned to Alton for a visit at the home of his daughter Elizabeth. There, in early January, 1850, he was stricken again. He rallied sufficiently to permit removal to the home of Thomas Yeatman, Lucretia's husband, in St. Louis, but a relapse followed quickly. On the morning of January 23 he died.

VIII

Courts in St. Louis, learning of his death, adjourned. At Springfield, at the next session of the United States court, the

bar adopted a resolution presented by Stephen T. Logan, Norman H. Purple, David L. Gregg, Abraham Lincoln and George W. Meeker calling upon the members to wear the badge of mourning for the balance of the term. In Chicago the bar gathered to hear George W. Olney deliver an address on the life and character of the departed judge.

Lawyers spoke feelingly of Pope's services on the bench. Before the St. Louis bar Lewis V. Bogy commented on his impeccable character, his long service, his fine legal mind. Olney spoke of his diligence, of his "clear and unclouded intellect," of his compelling sense of justice. William H. Bissell, soon to be governor of Illinois, wrote Joseph Gillespie that he had "seldom known a man the intelligence of whose death fell upon me with more saddening effect than did that of Poor Old Pope. He was one of Nature's noblemen—and all that you represent him to have been. God rest his soul! It will be long before we shall look upon his like again."

The finest tribute, however, was that which John McLean wrote in the preface to the fourth volume of his Reports.

> He was a man of decided talent. He never sought to become conspicuous as a speaker on the stump, at the dinner table, or in any such ephemeral exhibitions. But he was a man of much research, and of deep thought. He had a very strong and vigorous mind. In conversation, and in his opinions on the bench, and elsewhere, he was distinguished for the soundness of his positions, and the force of argument by which he maintained them. His arguments were drawn more from the resources of his own mind, than from the hackneyed views of others. Whilst, in his legal opinions, he showed great respect for authority, he was never satisfied where his own judgment did not lead to the same conclusion . . . .
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> He was an able common lawyer, and there were but few persons, in any part of our country, whose constitutional opinions were entitled to higher respect. With the history of the Constitution he was well acquainted; and he understood well the respective powers of the Federal and State Governments. He seemed to be more desirous of discharging his duty faithfully, than of leaving memorials of his acts. He reported but few of his judicial opinions. . . .
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> No man entertained loftier views of the duties of a Judge, and on one ever exercised a purer judgment in the decision of causes. Firm in his convictions, he never yielded them without being convinced of error; and then no one conformed to right and justice more cheerfully than he did. In

this he set a beautiful example of an unbiased judgment, however strong and firm, ready to yield to the force of argument. He was above the infirmity of narrow minds, which consider a change of opinion as evidence of weakness.

The state sustained a great loss in the death of this distinguished man. To his family the loss was irreparable, as he lived in their affections in no common degree. And associated with him as I had been, for so many years, I heard of his death with the deepest sensibility, and sincerely deplore his loss.

There was reference, too, to Pope's early career—to the years he had spent as territorial secretary and his services in securing the state's admission to the Union, while in Chicago Olney spoke gratefully of his action in extending the northern boundary. But in 1850 no man could properly evaluate this achievement, his strongest single claim to lasting recognition. It was not so much that he had seen an opportunity to increase the boundaries of his state, and had taken it, as it was that he had justified the act on grounds which future years were to reveal as political wisdom of the highest order. A sizable coast on Lake Michigan, he had said, would afford "additional security to the perpetuity of the Union," through the connection with the East which it would provide. He had the vision to see that without such an outlet, Illinois would be linked only to New Orleans and the South; with it, lines of commerce and social intercourse would tie it no less tightly to the other great section of the nation. Thus two strong cords, instead of one, would bind it to its sister states. Not until the Civil War was the full breadth of his wisdom apparent.

After all, however, Nathaniel Pope's career does not need the justification of later events. In their own right his achievements were sufficient to earn him, if not fame, at least the right not to be forgotten. To have aided in the government of a vast territory under hard and dangerous conditions, to have represented that territory in Congress with distinction, to have succeeded in making it a state, and then, for thirty years, to have served on the federal judiciary with ability and honor, is not a negligible record. Truly may it be said that his was an adequate contribution to his state and nation.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I

Name and Objects

Section 1. The name of this Society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society.

Section 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

ARTICLE II

Officers of the Society—Their Election and Duties

Section 1. The management of the affairs of this Society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors of which Board the president of the society shall be ex-officio a member.

Section 2. There shall be a President and as many Vice-Presidents, not less than three, as the Society may determine at the annual meetings. The Board of Directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

Section 3. At each annual meeting, except the first annual meeting to be held under this section, five directors shall be elected for terms of three years each. At the first annual meeting held under this section fifteen directors shall be elected, five of whom will hold office for one year, five for two years and five for three years, in accordance with lots to be drawn after the election. Directors shall be elected by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

Section 4. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:—

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants

together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal, in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled an Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor," approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the Society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this Constitution, for the management of the affairs of the Society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the Society at its annual meeting.

Section 5. Vacancies in the Board of Directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

Section 6. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither president nor vice-president shall be in attendance, the Society may choose a president pro-tempore.

Section 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the Society or the Board of Directors. The treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the Board of Directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the Society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the Board of Directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said Board shall submit said report to the Society at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Section 1. The membership of this Society shall consist of five classes, to-wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding and Honorary.

Section 2. Any person may become an active member of this Society upon payment of an initiation fee of not less than $2; and the payment thereafter of annual dues of not less than $2 as shall from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

Section 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may, upon payment of twenty-five dollars, be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

Section 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archaeological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events, may upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited representative at each meeting of the Society who shall during the period of his appointment be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

Section 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society, may, upon recommendation of the Board of Directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

Section 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

Section 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

ARTICLE IV

Meetings and Quorum

Section 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the Board of Directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said Board to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure

the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Directors. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or any two members of the Board.

Section 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

ARTICLE V

Amendments

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting; Provided that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Society.

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